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ABSTRACT

Nonformal education is explored in the context of development in order to provide researchers with fundamental tools for selecting nonformal educational activities that can provide a framework for analysis. Criteria that can be used to determine nonformal educational activities are identified; development as the setting of nonformal education is described; and identification of variables that have a bearing in nonformal education in development are listed. Empirical research taken from the literature is the basis for the analysis. Outcomes show that there are nonformal types of education that are not included in the term "nonformal education" and that it is necessary to recognize influences that impact the delivery of nonformal types of education. A two step framework for analysis of nonformal education in development is outlined in terms of initiative, change, and program areas. (KM)

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RUNA PATEL

NONFORMAL EDUCATION IN DEVELOPMENT:

A Conceptual Analysis

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Runa Patel

LINKÖPING UNIVERSITY
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REPORT LiU-PEK-R-148 (Licentiatarbete)

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In the present study the concept of nonformal education in the setting, of development is analysed.

It is found that nonformal education need to be defined from the point of view of a delivery perspective. Therefore, further characteristics of nonformal need to be derived from external variables.

The descriptive determination of development, based on international considerations, outlines the process within which nonformal educational activities can be expected to function and the goals that these activities can be expected to serve. Implementation is discussed with national development policies, ideologies and political processes at the local level as intermediary links.

As one outcome of this study nonformal types of education that are not labelled by the term nonformal education are identified and discussed. As a second outcome, a framework for analyses of nonformal education in development is presented in terms of initiative, change and program areas.

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Foreword

I am greatly indebted to a number of persons who have encouraged me and provided valuable suggestions and criticisms throughout my work with this study.

My scientific adviser, Associate professor Thord Erasmie, patiently endured my more or less wild ideas through the years and gave me his unlimited support and time. Professor Ingvar Werdelin, Linköping University, repeatedly read my drafts and conscientiously pointed out weak points and suggested improvements every time. Valuable suggestions and criticisms were also provided by Associate Professor Harald Eklund, Linköping University, Professor Ingemar Fägerlind, Stockholm University, Associate Professor Tore Nilstun, Lund University.

My remembrance must also include our former Head of Department, Carl Holmberg, who got me started in the first place and kept on encouraging me, Ing-Marie Bolmgren, PhD, who thoroughly read my first draft and made me look at my work from a different angle, and, finally, Anita Stenberg who speedily and expertly typed the work and also readily accepted my last-minute alterations.

I cannot honestly say that I have adhered completely to all suggestions and criticisms provided, so whatever weak points or faults the reader might find, I am solely responsible.

Linköping, February 1990

Runa Patel

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In few areas of social development is the 'pendulum-swing' theory more apt than with education.
Martin, 1984, p. 85

Chapter 1

PURPOSE AND PREREQUISITES FOR THE ANALYSIS

Education has become regarded as one of the key factors promoting development, and thus the importance of education has been highlighted in the last few decades. Since World War II, there has been particularly great belief in education as an agent of change. Education has been found to be able to promote economic growth and social mobility, to lessen the gap between urban and rural areas, to accelerate technological change and so on.

Today the notion of the important role of education, that is, particularly the school, in development is said to have started in the age of innocence (Ward, 1974, p. xv) but has reached the age of scepticism (Weiler, 1978, p. 180). Simmons (1980) finds that the time has come to question the assumptions behind the investment in the school system since it has not contributed to growth or development in the expected way. In some instances the criticism of the school system is rather severe. Ki-Zerbo (1974), for example, regards it as a "school of underdevelopment". In their appraisal of education and national development, Fägerlind and Saha (1983) conclude that theories of education and development have been led astray due to their overdeterministic nature. They state that the most important issue raised as a result of their work is "knowing what kind of education is appropriate for what kind of development" (Fägerlind and Saha, 1983, p. 252).

As a result of the perceived failure of the school system in the promotion of development and of the experienced educational crisis in the 1960s (Coombs, 1968), a number of educational programs outside the school system have emerged. Consequently, new activities, such as continuous education, adult education, second-chance education, out-of-school education, agricultural extension education and so on, have entered the educational arena during the last few decades. These activities outside the school, brought together under the heading of nonformal education, are now regarded as important means of development besides the school system.

1.1 Nonformal education as an educational strategy in development

As an educational phenomenon, nonformal education is by no means new. There existed different kinds of educational activities long before the school systems came into existence, both in industrialized and developing countries, for example, different kinds of apprenticeships. The term nonformal education, however, is of recent origin. It is used mainly in relation to developing countries, even if nonformal educational activities are most numerous and in great variety in industrialized ones.

According to Ahmed (1983) and LaBelle (1982), the term nonformal education emerged in the middle or late 1960s. Apparently the term was originally a verbal negation of the type of education to which it was supposed to be an alternative or a complement. Although this also seems to have been the case with the term informal education, which was originally used in the same sense as nonformal education (see, for example, Abernethy, 1969; Wood, 1974), nonformal education was the term that acquired acceptance.

Nonformal education is often seen as a viable strategy in development and is created to serve a wide variety of objectives such as promoting economic growth, improving the living conditions of a population and providing for civil and political rights. From the 1970s, nonformal education was given a prominent place in national development plans. The current view of education coupled with the perceived educational crisis made people look for alternative solutions (Bhola, 1983). This accounts for the growing belief in nonformal education as a fruitful educational strategy. National development was found dependent on the development of the individual, and nonformal education was found able to provide planners with the opportunity to meet the rapidly increasing need for education outside the school system.

Nonformal education is often compared to the school system, which is by no means surprising in view of the emphasis on the school that runs through history. Consequently nonformal education is often described in terms used to describe the school. For example, Evans (1981) finds that nonformal education from the practitioners' point of view can be categorized according to the relationship existing between the clientele and the school system. Thus, Evans suggests that nonformal education could be categorized as (1) complementary education, which offers education that complements or completes the education given in the schools system; (2) supplementary education, which adds on to the education given in the schools; and (3) replacement education, which replaces schooling.

However, even if nonformal education is organized to serve certain learning objectives, whether complementary, supplementary or in replacement of the school system, it should not be conceived as a unitary system in the same sense as the school system: The diversity of learning objectives, clienteles, educational methods and sources of financial resources is enormous. Learning objectives may be the same as those of the school system (for example, literacy programs) or they may answer to needs not fulfilled by the school (for example, health programs). Also the clientele will vary depending on the groups for which the program caters: adults, youths, school-leavers or others. The educational methods used are not necessarily the same in all nonformal programs since each of these will choose its own method. Financial resources may be made available by different governmental departments, private organizations, foundations and others, which means that the pressure on resources is distributed among far more parties than is the case of the school system, thus making the problem of resources different from that of resources for the school.

Attempts to classify nonformal education are problematic not only because of the diversity of nonformal programs but also because nonformal education often is part of comprehensive development programs where the emphasis is on rural development and employment orientation. The heterogeneity of nonformal education is also reflected in existing studies which are either in the form of analyses or in the form of purely descriptive studies. Extensive descriptive studies are published by Sheffield and Diejomaoh (1972) and Ahmed and Coombs (1975a), who mapped programs for basic general education and for employment-related education. Analyses of nonformal education are of various kinds. Some analyses have focused mainly on one aspect, more or less separated from other aspects, such as learning methods (Srinivasan, 1977), motivation (Mbakile, 1979), economics (Ahmed, 1975), or services connecting learning needs with learning resources (Cross, 1978). Comprehensive analyses are made by Coombs and Ahmed (1974) of rural education, by LaBelle (1976, 1986) of education for social change and by Simkins (1977) of education for development.

Nonformal education has to a large extent been planned and implemented for rural development. The need for education outside the school system has been especially apparent in rural areas, since the school system has mainly served the modernizing urban areas. Not only have resources been allocated mainly to urban areas, but also the content of the school system has served modernizing purposes often incompatible to rural needs (see, for example, Coombs and Ahmed, 1974; Simmons, 1980; Thompson, 1981). Nonformal education in rural areas has mainly catered for adults and youths who have lacked access to school as well as for persons who have needed basic or further training for farming.

Rural areas were in the 1970s, and still are, also characterized by under-employment, and programs aiming at self-employment have been launched together with nonformal educational programs for the upgrading of skills and the improvement of productivity. The need for self-employment is, however, not only a problem of rural areas. The expansion of the school system with the resulting production of graduates, particularly at the primary level, soon exceeded employment possibilities in urban areas for primary school leavers. The need for employment oriented education is emphasized also in this context, and nonformal education is regarded as the viable strategy (see, for example, Sheffield and Diejomaoh, 1972; Wood, 1974).

The advantages of nonformal education most often mentioned are based on the assumed failures of the school system as a promoter of social change and development. Nonformal education is thus often seen as less expensive, more flexible, more able to give quick results, more effective in enhancing rural development and promoting upward social and economic mobility and so on. Some of the early advocates of nonformal education had a tendency to regard nonformal education as the remedy for all, or almost all, troubles caused by the failure of the school system (see, for example, Tugbiyele, 1973; Ojo, 1976). The faith in nonformal education is expressed by, for example, Dore (1980):

> Nonformal education has been discovered as more likely to deliver the development goods than the traditional panoply of primary, secondary and tertiary institutions.
>
> (Dore, 1980, p. 70)

Other advocates of nonformal education, however, agree about the advantages of nonformal education but point out that education in general and nonformal education in particular are not the sole means of obtaining social change and development. Education must be related to other forces acting for social change (see, for example, Coombs and Ahmed, 1974; D'Aeth, 1975; LaBelle, 1976; Evans, 1981).

Not only the advantages but also the drawbacks of nonformal education are often discussed against the background of the school system, that is, some aspects of the school are after all regarded as superior to those of nonformal education. Such drawbacks of nonformal education are, for example, that this type of education is difficult to design and deliver, it has less access to resources, it lacks social prestige and gives less access to good jobs (see, for example, Coombs and Ahmed, 1974; Simkins, 1977; Bhola, 1983). The difficulties in planning nonformal education are, according to Coombs (1984), due to the fact that education has generally been thought of in terms of schooling, and the educational planning models that are in current use have their basis in notions of schooling. Since nonformal education is not a unitary system in the same sense as formal education and since resources are made available from a great diversity of sources, the planning of nonformal education consequently encounters problems. Evans (1981) argues that the heterogeneity of nonformal programs calls for separate sets of planning procedures that differ with regard to methods as well as to the extent to which planning is at all desirable.

To suggest that nonformal education would be the viable educational alternative to meet development needs in backward areas where little formal education is offered, causes outright opposition on many occasions, however. It is argued that nonformal education is or may become "second-class" education (for example, Weiler, 1978; Bock and Papagiannis, 1983a, 1983b). According to Martin (1984), nonformal education is also regarded by the rural people as a "second-rate" substitute (p. 85) for the school system. It is also argued that nonformal education will continue to reflect the existing reward structure in society and that it can be used to "cool down" aspirations, thus failing to change the participants' life chances (see, for example, Paulston, 1974; Weiler, 1978; Evans, 1981; Ahmed, 1983). In either case, these opinions can be attributed to comparisons with the school system which is the type of education valid for white-collar vocations and upward social mobility.

However, discussions of nonformal education in relation to social change and development are not always concerned with just pointing at advantages or disadvantages. In directing a reappraisal of the study that gave rise to the coined phrase 'world educational crisis', Coombs (1982) finds that out of a number of future critical educational issues, one will involve building a "learning network" to cater for the lifelong learning needs of the individual. The conceived learning network should combine the school system, nonformal education and informal types of educational activities.

In Tanzania, a rational start has been made in the direction of integrating the three types of education. Kassam (1982) gives the example of the Folk Development Colleges, the radio study group campaigns and the community education schools. In discussing the integration of formal and nonformal education, Kassam notes that three important structural changes have facilitated this integration: (1) a reorganization of the Ministry of National Education, which has been given the administrative responsibility of providing nonformal education; (2) a redefinition of the role of the primary school whereby the primary schools have also become adult education centers; and (3) the teacher training for primary school teachers, which has been reorganized to include training in adult education methodology.

Lema (1976) discusses the integration of the different types of education in a way that is structurally almost the opposite of the Tanzanian experience. It is important, according to Lema, to retain local control of nonformal programs so that these can be appropriately related to the specific needs of the local community and to the informal educational activities in the same community. In this way the nonformal programs will bridge the gap between the school system and informal types of education in a specific community.

When actual integration is not placed in the focus, the relationship between the different types of education is discussed as interactive. One way of discussing the interaction between the school system and nonformal education concerns influence. In showing the advantages of nonformal education, D'Aeth (1975) suggests that there could be an impact of nonformal education on the school system. Since developing countries do not have fully developed school systems, they have the opportunity to

> ... incorporate modern ideas of nonformal education, using cheap technological aids, giving more attention to self-motivated learning as opposed to didactic instruction, seeking to reduce the constricting influence of regular examining and thus developing a more flexible and responsive system of education.
> (D'Aeth, 1975, p. 107)

The incorporation of methodological features from nonformal education into the school system is also mentioned by Ahmed (1983) as both a possibility and a necessity. King (1977), however, discusses the event of the reverse situation, that is, an impact of the school system on nonformal programs which initially were not similar in structure or content to the school system. King gives the example of the Village Polytechnics in Kenya where there has been student pressure in some areas to make the polytechnics more school-like through, for example, more academic content.

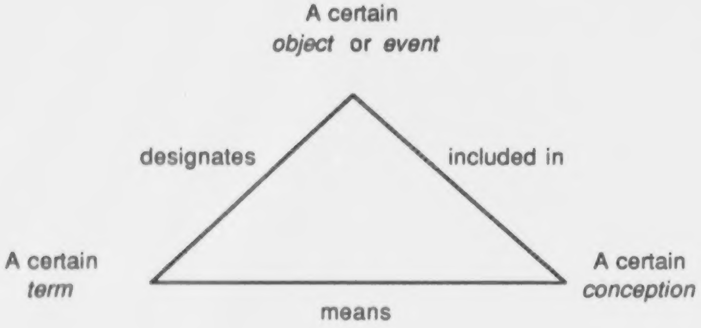
The term nonformal education thus covers a vast diversity of educational activities used in the promotion of development. However, the accumulated knowledge concerning nonformal education is still to a large extent unpatterned and gives little indications for the planning of nonformal educational activities for particular development purposes or how to choose nonformal education activities for particular research purposes.

One of the fundamental problems concerns which educational activities are meant when the term nonformal education is used. What characterizes such educational activities? Are there common features even though nonformal education is not a system in the same sense as formal education? Is the term nonformal education used so that it covers all possible educational activities with certain common features? In order to proceed towards an answer to these questions, it is necessary to outline some essential features of concepts that will generate tools for further probing into the matter.

1.2 Some essential features of concepts

Different terms label phenomena in our world and facilitate communication between people. In different types of research, terms represent central concepts. That is, a term labels the objects or processes that are included in a concept and thus the term expresses the concept. In basic research, aiming at theory formation, concepts form the fundamental cornerstones of propositions. In applied research, aiming at practical application of results, concepts constitute the definitions of what is to be observed. In both instances concepts, as expressed by terms, make up the central elements that are the objects of empirical investigations.

The relationship between terms, concepts and objects is often represented by a triangle:



(Zetterberg, 1965, p. 32)

Figure 1. The relationship between term, conception and object represented by a triangle

According to the representation, a certain term designates certain objects or events. The objects or events are included in a certain conception. The term means this conception.

The relationship between terms, concepts and objects is also discussed in terms of three realms or levels as well as in terms of the relationships between these levels (Bunge, 1967; Rosing, 1978). The first level is the linguistic level that contains terms, phrases, sentences etc. The second level is the conceptual level that contains concepts, propositions and theories. Both the linguistic and the conceptual level have reference to the third level that contains things, facts, properties etc., that is, the level of phenomena.

It is usually considered that the meaning of a concept is contextual. The context usually thought of is that of a theory. Concept formation and theory formation go hand in hand (Kaplan, 1964; Merton, 1967; Hempel, 1970; compare Bunge, 1967). However, in the behavioural sciences, where applied research is predominant and theory formation is not in focus, the applied field will have to be considered as the context that gives meaning to a concept. Thus, when phenomena are selected for scientific investigation, concepts are introduced and their meanings are often stated through stipulation. This means that the scientist gives a meaning to a concept for a specific purpose and with a particular field in mind. Accordingly, the researcher will label the concept defined in this way by a term that in turn may be used by another researcher to label his stipulatively defined concept. Eventually this leads not only to terminological confusion but it also leads to confusion as to which phenomena are included in a concept and which are not.

The meaning of concepts is often discussed in terms of their idea-content and the objects that correspond to the idea-content. The idea-content of a concept, the intension, is generally described in terms of the criteria an object must satisfy in order to belong to the concept. That is, the intension of a concept is the set of properties that characterizes the objects. The objects that correspond to the idea-content, the so-called extension, consist of all existing objects that satisfy these criteria. (See, for example, Bunge, 1967; Berner Öste, 1968; Nørreklit, 1973; Österberg, 1979.)

Accordingly, to obtain a working definition of a concept for a particular purpose peculiar properties can be identified. These peculiar properties, so-called earmarks, should be necessary and sufficient to distinguish between the concept in question and any other concept. The set of earmarks can be said to make up a core intension of a concept (Bunge, 1967) and thus yield the criteria that will enable the identification of what phenomena belong to the extension of the concept and what phenomena do not.

Classification is a conceptual operation which discriminates between phenomena, that is, between the elements of a set, and at the same time groups them into subsets. There are some common principles for classifications that are of logical or methodological nature and thus independent of aim and subject matter. One principle states that the criteria chosen for the grouping should be kept throughout the classification work (Bunge, 1967; Asplund, 1969). Another principle is that subsets on the same hierarchical level should jointly cover the whole field of what is to be classified, the so-called domain, and should have no members in common (Bunge, 1967; Rosing, 1978). This second principle is by Hempel (1952, see also Asplund, 1969) described as requirements of exhaustiveness and exclusiveness.

The most elementary form of classification is that of partition. Partition involves the distribution of the elements of a domain among a number of pairwise disjoint groups having no systematic relationships with one another (Bunge, 1967; Asplund, 1969), that is, there is no order between the groups nor any relations that link the groups. Classification through partition involves at least two steps or hierarchical levels. In the first step the elements of a domain have to be identified and in the second step, as well as in subsequent steps, the elements will be further distributed on subsets.

When partition is carried out, there is the ever-present possibility that not all the elements of a domain will allow an "either – or" grouping. Such elements, that might as well be grouped with either subset, are called borderline cases. The existence of borderline cases may be due to the fact that the extension of a concept is to some extent indefinite (Bunge, 1967) or due to the fact that terms have an openness of meaning (Kaplan, 1964). According to Bunge (1967), finer partitions can be introduced to reduce the number of borderline cases whereas Kaplan (1964) argues that the more discriminations that are made, the more opportunities are created for borderline cases. Another way of reducing the number of borderline cases is the adoption of practical criteria or decision rules (Bunge, 1967; Asplund, 1969). The practical criteria or decision rules consist of identifying earmarks that are sufficient for the inclusion of an element in a subset.

The problem of borderline cases can be avoided all together if the extension of a concept is identified in terms of an "ideal type" (Kaplan, 1964; compare with the "typical set" in Pawlowski, 1980). There may be no phenomenon corresponding fully to an ideal type, but through the ideal type significant criteria are identified. Phenomena are compared with the criteria of the ideal type and decisions made as to whether a phenomenon belongs to the extension of the concept or not. The type of decision needed in relation to ideal types corresponds in essence to the above mentioned decision rules, in either instance borderline cases are avoided.

In sum, since phenomena are included in a concept and a particular term means this concept, it is thus desirable that concepts are clearly identified and defined. Conceptual clarifications will demarcate what objects or events are relevant for a particular research purpose. How precise the meaning of a concept needs to be stated depends on for what purpose and in what connection the concept will be used. For research purposes in an applied field, the context, within which a particular concept will be used, need to be taken as the point of departure for a conceptual analysis.

One way of carrying out a conceptual analysis is to identify criteria that will allow a more or less clearcut "either – or" partition of the phenomena included in the concept. What will be considered as an optimal number of borderline cases or whether decision rules should be employed will depend on the particular purpose for which the analysis is carried out. Another way of carrying out a conceptual analysis is to identify the concept in terms of an ideal type with which phenomena are compared.

1.3 Purpose and outline of the study

In order to acquire knowledge of nonformal educational activities and their role in development a large number of studies have been undertaken. In some instances the activities are compared to the school system in terms of similarities, in other instances the activities are regarded as separate from the school system and differences are accentuated. Thus, in different ways these studies point at characteristics of nonformal educational activities. A further exploration of such studies may yield criteria that can be used to determine what educational activities belong to the concept of nonformal education. The contextual meaning of nonformal education is obtained through its setting. Since nonformal education is used in the promotion of development, development constitutes the setting of nonformal education. However, development is yet another troublesome term in the sense that it has many different meanings. This accordingly means that an exploration of the different meanings of development is necessary in order to identify variables that can be expected to influence nonformal education in this particular setting.

The main aim of this work is to contribute to the promotion of knowledge systematization concerning nonformal education in development through a conceptual analysis.

The outcome of the analysis is primarily intended to facilitate researchers' choices of nonformal activities relative to particular research purposes. That is, judgements passed on the successes or failures of nonformal education in development are in most instances made from studies based on more or less arbitrarily chosen nonformal educational activities. The intention in this study is to provide researchers with fundamental tools for selecting nonformal educational activities in development for further studies in terms of a framework for analyses. In addition, any practitioner using nonformal educational activities in development will find the framework for analyses useful for discovering possible gaps between intention and implementation as well as between intention and outcome.

In order to arrive at the framework for analyses of nonformal educational activities, the analysis of the concept of nonformal education need to be made in the setting, namely development. Accordingly, the objectives of this study are

- to identify criteria that can be used to determine educational activities that are nonformal;
- to describe development as the setting of nonformal education;
- to identify variables that will have a bearing on nonformal education in development.

The outcome of this study is presented in terms of

- an identification of other nonformal educational activities than those labelled by the term nonformal education, and
- a framework for analyses of nonformal education in development.

The study is non-empirical in the sense that previously and by other authors written documents, such as articles, reports and books, have been utilized. Most of these these documents, however, relate empirical evidence which means that the actual basis for the analysis is in fact empirical.

The analysis of nonformal education in development is presented in three chapters. The focus of each chapter is illustrated in Figure 2

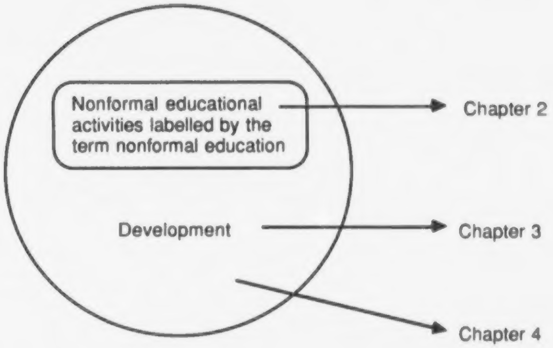

Nonformal educational activities labelled by the term nonformal education
Chapter 2
Development
Chapter 3
Chapter 4

Figure 2. The figure illustrates the focus of each chapter presenting the analysis of nonformal education in development

Chapter 2: Nonformal education is analysed through different attempts of conceptual clarifications. This is done in order to identify criteria that can be used to determine educational activities that are nonformal. Emphasis is placed on discussions where the concept nonformal education is designated by the term nonformal education.

Chapter 3: Development as the setting of nonformal educational activities is descriptively determined and described from the point of view of international considerations concerning the process within which nonformal educational activities can be expected to function and the development goals that these activities can be expected to serve.

Chapter 4: International considerations of what should be the goals of development and how development can be obtained is discussed from the point of view of implementation with national development policies, ideologies and political processes at the local level constituting intermediary links.

The outcome of the study is presented in two chapters. The focus of each chapter is illustrated in Figure 3.

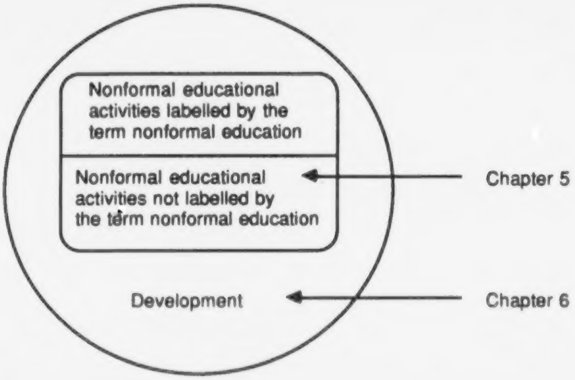

Nonformal educational activities labelled by the term nonformal education
Nonformal educational activities not labelled by the term nonformal education
Chapter 5
Development
Chapter 6

Figure 3. The figure illustrates the focus of each chapter presenting the outcome of the study

Chapter 5: The descriptive determination of development as the setting of nonformal education indicates the existence of nonformal types of education that are not labelled by the term nonformal education. In this chapter such educational experiences are discussed in order to draw attention to the fact that the extension of nonformal education is larger than usually considered or thought of.

Chapter 6: The descriptive determination of development as the setting of nonformal education also indicates the necessity of recognizing aspects that exert an influence on the delivery of nonformal types of education. In this chapter a framework for analyses of nonformal education in development is presented in terms of initiative, change and program areas.

The extreme diversity of nonformal education programs – not only in their target audiences and learning objectives but in their forms and structures and educational technologies and methods, precludes fitting them neatly into a refined classification system.
Ahmed & Coombs, 1975b, p. xxix

Chapter 2

THE CONCEPT OF NONFORMAL EDUCATION

The aim of this chapter is to arrive at criteria that can be used to characterize educational activities that are included in the concept of nonformal education. In the first part of this chapter a generally accepted definition of nonformal education is taken as the point of departure. The following two parts will further explore what criteria are utilized in efforts to clarify nonformal education and in efforts to establish groups of nonformal education. Emphasis will be placed on discussions where the educational activities are labelled by the term nonformal education. That is, discussions where the extension of the concept of nonformal education is labelled by other terms are not included.

It need to be stated from the very beginning of this chapter that there are no theories that provide criteria for the application of the concept of nonformal education. In the instances when the concept of nonformal education is discussed within a theoretical framework, nonformal education is regarded as a type of education and not as nonformal education *per se*. For example, theories concerning the role of education in social change and development, such as functional/human capital theories and conflict theories, may provide such a theoretical framework (see for example, Paulston, 1976, 1977; Simkins, 1977; Bock, 1982; Bock and Papagiannis, 1983a, 1983b) where nonformal education is discussed as one possible educational strategy among others.

2.1 A generally accepted definition of nonformal education

By the middle of the 1970s, Ahmed and Coombs (1975b) gave definitions of formal, nonformal and informal education which have become generally accepted and are mostly used as the point of departure in academic discussions of different types of education.

Formal education refers to

> the hierarchically-structured and chronologically-graded modern 'educational system' that stretches from primary school through university.

Nonformal education refers to

> the motley assortment of organized and semi-organized educational activities operating outside the regular structure and routines of the formal system, aimed at serving a great variety of learning needs of different subgroups in the population, both young and old.

Informal education refers to

> (learning) through daily experiences and interactions with that particular person's social and economic environment.
>
> (Ahmed and Coombs, 1975b, p. xxviii)

The view of education, as presented in these definitions, is functional, equating education with learning, regardless of where or how the learning takes place. However, even if education is equated with learning it is all the same a question of how learning situations are arranged, that is, the way in which education is delivered. It is not a question of learning from the learner's point of view, that is, how the learning is received. This means that education can be looked at from two different perspectives that can be labelled "delivery" and "receiving" perspectives, respectively.

Even if a delivery perspective is of primary importance, there are nevertheless instances where a receiving perspective is added to constitute the source of additional criteria for informal education. One such example is provided by Bhola (1983) who primarily differentiates between the three types of education through their institutional context, namely through formal institutions, through out-of-school contexts and through social institutions, respectively. In other words, the primary perspective utilized is a delivery perspective. In relation to informal education Bhola further states

> ... and the learner is seldom aware of being a student engaged in the integration of new values and skills.
>
> (Bhola, 1983, p. 47)

In this statement Bhola thus adds a kind of criterion that concerns the learner's awareness of the learning that takes place: he adds a receiving perspective. However, once a receiving perspective is added in the sense used by Bhola above, it is also necessary to clarify the difference between the learning that a person is aware of, intentional learning, and the learning that a person is not aware of, incidental learning. Incidental learning will, nevertheless, occur in delivery systems that are more or less formalized, even though these systems primarily aim at intentional learning. For example, what a child learns at school is not necessarily only that which is taught. In turn, intentional learning will occur in the delivery from social institutions even though it is not the purpose of the institution. Authors like Spaulding (1974) stress the importance of a communications infrastructure where a person can find the information he needs and study the material he wants for further knowledge, that is, intentional learning in an informal setting.

Thus, if a receiving perspective should be added, it cuts across the three types of education and does not contribute to the clarification of either concept. On the contrary, since classifications need to be made according to a single dimension, adding a receiving perspective would thus ruin any attempts of classifications. My contention is accordingly that it is important to retain a delivery perspective and in the continuation of this work education will be looked at from this perspective unless otherwise stated.

It can be argued that when Ahmed and Coombs (1975b) define education they state only one criterion that any phenomenon must satisfy in order to belong to the extension of the concept of education, namely the criterion of learning. Accordingly, there is a large number of phenomena that satisfy this criterion, and thus the extension of the concept of education is large.

The further definitions of formal, nonformal and informal education can be said to represent a partition of the concept of education. The partition is made by Ahmed and Coombs (1975b) in two steps. In the first step, the subset of informal education is identified as a type of education that is not organized. This subset thus includes such educational activities as learning from one's family, work, radio, library, theatre and so on. Organized and semi-organized types of education are thereafter divided into two subsets depending on their relationship to the school system, that is, those educational activities that belong to the school system and those that do not. This means that Ahmed and Coombs have in actual fact undertaken a partition that involves three levels which is illustrated in Figure 4.

The first partition allows an "either – or" grouping of educational activities that satisfy the criterion of being "not organized". However, it can be argued that the subset which satisfies the criterion of being "not organized", that is, informal education, also can be characterized by other criteria not explicitly used. For example, criteria as "not being purposeful" and "lacking specified learning objectives" may be used to obtain a similar "either – or" partition.

The second partition, however, does not allow an "either – or" grouping that satisfies the criterion of relationship to the school system. There are borderline cases which are difficult to classify, for example, alternative schools and labour organizations. The problem of borderline cases is also pointed out by Ahmed and Coombs (1975b), who warn in particular against drawing the line between formal and nonformal education too sharp and also name borderline cases such as Cuba's "Schools-in-the-Countryside", Kenya's Village Polytechnics and others.

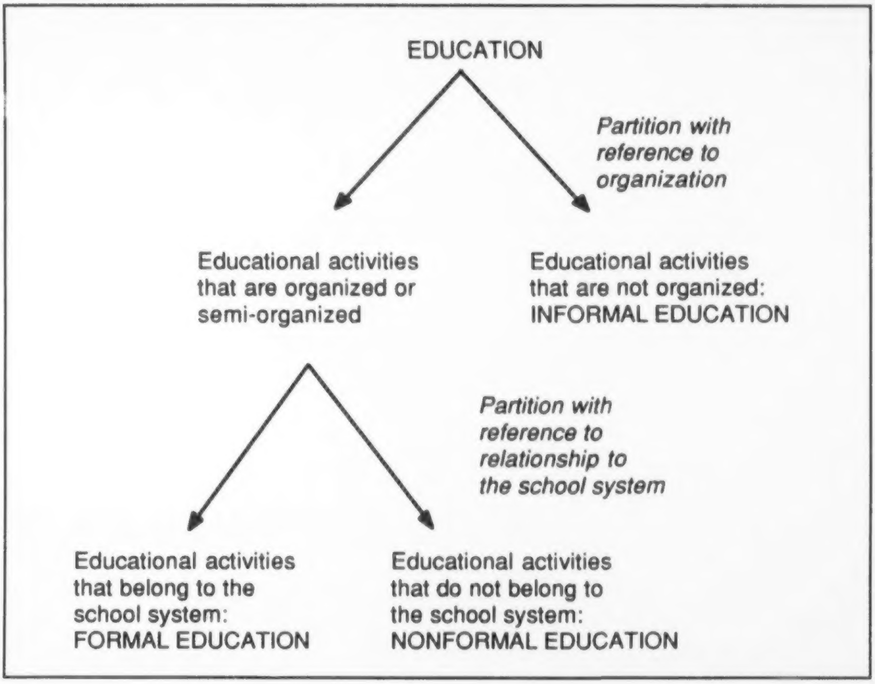

EDUCATION
Partition with reference to organization
Educational activities that are organized or semi-organized
Educational activities that are not organized: INFORMAL EDUCATION
Partition with reference to relationship to the school system
Educational activities that belong to the school system: FORMAL EDUCATION
Educational activities that do not belong to the school system: NONFORMAL EDUCATION

Figure 4. A partition of education involving three hierarchical levels

The borderline cases are also observed by Bhola (1983), who suggests a finer partition that would create an additional subset of certain educational activities. Bhola suggests that this subset should be referred to by the term "alternative formal education". The examples mentioned by him are, on the one hand, the shadow systems to the formal education that have been established in, for example, China and Korea. These shadow systems cover education from primary school to university. On the other hand, Bhola mentions part-time programs in, for example, India and Indonesia that are parallel to the formal system. The finer partition by establishing a subset of these types of educational activities would take care of some of the present borderline cases but would probably not reduce the totality of borderline cases and may even give rise to additional borderline cases, in line with the argument by Kaplan (1964) in the previous chapter.

However, there are also arguments against finer partitions from pragmatic points of view. Ahmed (1983, p. 43) argues that it is necessary to widen the "grey zone" between formal and nonformal types of education instead of letting institutional models set boundaries. Weiler (1978, see also LaBelle, 1976; King, 1982; Martin, 1984) mentions the possibility of developing hybrid forms of educational programs that combine the strengths of both formal and nonformal education. In other words, borderline cases that have properties of both formal and nonformal education are sought. It must be argued though that a prerequisite for this is that there are criteria that will allow an "either – or" partition so that criteria from both groups can be used to create such borderline cases. If this is not the case, the extension will consist of an additional type of borderline cases that is haphazardly created on the basis of arbitrary criteria.

The problem of borderline cases is solved by LaBelle (1986) through the use of decision rules. LaBelle excludes from nonformal education those programs that are alternatives to schooling. He thus means programs geared by "state-sanctioned curricula associated with credits, grades, certificates, and diplomas" (p. 6). LaBelle's primary argument for this decision rule is that the potential of nonformal education for flexibility in curricula cannot be utilized in instances when nonformal education is a vehicle of the state.

If it should be possible to make a clear distinction between formal and nonformal education further criteria need to be identified. That is, if the partition between the subsets of formal and nonformal education were to be made unambiguous so that no borderline cases appear nor decision rules necessary, criteria additional to or other than the relationship with the school system would be needed. In the following part some attempts to distinguish between the subsets are discussed in order to identify what criteria are used for such clarifications.

2.2 Efforts of conceptual clarifications

Since nonformal education is seen as a viable educational strategy in development, it is desirable that nonformal education can be defined more exactly for specific purposes such as planning, evaluation and co-ordination. Accordingly, further clarifications of the concept of nonformal education have been made, mostly in relation to formal and/or informal education. That is, some clarifications concern only formal and nonformal education and others all three concepts. Furthermore, the clarifications are generally made with some specific context or setting in mind, for example, lifelong education or development.

In this part of the chapter, three attempts at conceptual clarifications will be discussed. These attempts specify additional or other criteria for the identification of the subset nonformal education in relation to the subsets formal and/or informal education.

In discussing how nonformal education contributes to the quality of life in Israel's Kibbutz, Giladi & Reed (1985) analyse nonformal education. Nonformal education is by Giladi and Reed stated to be "out-of-school education", that is, they use the same criterion as Ahmed and Coombs (1975b) in their differentiation between the subsets of formal and nonformal education. Giladi and Reed also identify eleven education variables ranging from objectives, content and sequence through learners and staff to building resources as well as power, control and administration. Each of these variables is represented by a continuum where one end is formal, structured, abstract, objective and the other is less formal, more flexible, concrete and subjective.

Since each variable is represented by a continuum, the criterion used to identify a subset is constituted by a particular position or value on each continuum. Together the criteria derived in this way are used to identify different subsets. Accordingly, subsets of nonformal education can be identified depending on an educational activity's position on each continuum. The subsets, however, cannot be said to represent partitions since one subset may have the same position on one continuum as another subset but differ on the rest. The consequence is that there is an overlap between subsets.

Furthermore, the education variables used to establish the criteria of subsets of nonformal education may just as well be used to establish criteria of formal education. That is, the eleven education variables are related to the 'in school - out of school' criterion used by Giladi and Reed when initially differentiating between formal and nonformal education. Accordingly, since the educational variables are not unique for nonformal education and one end of the continuum is described as formal, structured, abstract and objective, criteria of formal education may be obtained in the same manner as for the subsets of nonformal education.

An examination of formal and nonformal education is undertaken by Simkins (1977) in order to advance meaningful discussions of the nature of formal and nonformal education and improve the somewhat arbitrary way in which educational programs are classified. The point of departure is the definitions of formal, nonformal and informal education given above. Simkins states, however, that he does not use the term "education" in connection with informal activities. He prefers to view informal activities as a context in which formal and nonformal education takes place. Simkins thus in fact adopts a definition of education that includes only organized and semi-organized types of educational activities.

Simkins analysis is based on the possibility of identifying ideal types of formal and nonformal education. The criteria used by Simkins are labelled model characteristics (compare Paulston, 1974) and listed in two sets, one set for formal and one set for nonformal education. Simkins starts by outlining the criteria of formal education, it being more uniform and coherent than nonformal education. The criteria of nonformal education are then outlined in an antithetical way to those of formal education. Altogether Simkins identifies fifteen modal characteristics that can be clustered into five groups labelled purpose, timing, content, delivery system and control. Together these clusters correspond in general to the eleven variables used by Giladi and Reed (1985).

However, to be classified as either formal or nonformal by the set of criteria suggested by Simkins, an educational program needs not to conform in every detail to each of the fifteen criteria but should approximate to most of them. To get any program at all classified as formal education, that is, to avoid an empty extension which may be the case when ideal types are used, approximation is necessary. Simkins gives the example of universities with some part-time students. The existence of such students is, however, marginal in relation to other characteristics of a university and therefore permits approximation. On the other hand, as Simkins points out, a program that normally is not thought of or defined as formal, may be revealed to be so through the analysis of its major characteristics.

When Simkins discusses classifications he points out that there is a much greater range of each characteristic of the ideal type of nonformal education than of the ideal type of formal education. It is therefore rare to find nonformal programs that fully correspond to the ideal type. According to Simkins, it is not even important to obtain an "either – or" partition of formal and nonformal education since most programs exhibit different combinations and degrees of the fifteen criteria. An "either – or" partition would thus not be meaningful. In addition, Simkins argues that many programs will be more or less formal over time, which means that a grouping cannot be established once and for all.

The general definitions of formal, nonformal and informal education presented earlier also provide the point of departure for LaBelle (1976, 1982) when he presents a typology of modes of education. The intent of the typology outlined by LaBelle is to enable an expanded conception of educational resources in society. The typology is two-dimensional in order to avoid the suggestion of discrete subsets and thus based on two types of variables. On the one hand, LaBelle identifies three predominant modes of learning, namely, formal, nonformal and informal modes of learning, that represent the main learning processes that a learner encounters. For example, deliberate teaching of the sanctioned curriculum is a formal mode of learning and the learning through interaction with peers is an informal mode of learning. Learning is thus used in the same functional way as done by Ahmed and Coombs (1975b) and evidently looked at by LaBelle from a delivery perspective but yet labelled by him from a receiving perspective.

In addition to the modes of learning, LaBelle discerns educational characteristics that represent the structure rather than the process. These characteristics may also be formal, nonformal and informal. Formal characteristics reflect hierarchical ordering, compulsory attendance, standardized curricula, admission requirements, prerequisites and certificates. Nonformal characteristics indicate that these activities are separate from state-sanctioned schooling but still systematic and planned. Informal characteristics reflect the individual's contact with day-to-day learning in his or her environment.

As both the modes of learning and the structural characteristics may be formal, nonformal or informal, the combination of modes of learning and structural characteristics gives nine possible outcomes representing possible interactions between process and structure. A nonformal type of education may, for example, carry formal characteristics if it grants certificates. An informal type of education may carry nonformal characteristics by providing parental instruction. Within a type of education there may also exist secondary or tertiary learning opportunities, perhaps in the same setting at the same time. LaBelle gives the example of the formal educational mode in which both extracurricular and peer-group structures may occur at the same time and in the same place.

The typology presented by LaBelle thus makes partitions between formal, nonformal and informal education on the same level through the criteria derived from both modes of learning and structural characteristics. That is, informal education is not established as a group by a criterion not used for the differentiation between formal and nonformal education as was done by Ahmed and Coombs (1975b). Furthermore, the criteria utilized for both variables, formal, nonformal and informal, yield nine groups instead of three. This increased number of groups or subsets make explicit the possibility of borderline cases between educational activities that are not organized and those that are organized and semi-organized, which is not the case according to the definitions given by Ahmed and Coombs (1975b). However, the subsets derived through the typology of LaBelle exhibit extensional vagueness, which is also LaBelle's intension, caused by the possibility that different modes of learning may exist at the same time. It can be argued though, that the formal-formal, nonformal-nonformal and informal-informal subsets constitute some kind of ideal types of formal, nonformal and informal education, respectively.

It thus seems as if the attempts to clarify the concept of nonformal education presented here are based on a delivery perspective, that is, on the way in which education is delivered. The aim of the first clarification by Giladi and Reed (1985) is to establish subsets of nonformal education through finer partitions. In the clarification by Simkins (1977), ideal types of formal and nonformal education are identified. Through approximation of the criteria characterizing the ideal types different educational activities can be classified. In the clarification by LaBelle (1976, 1982), ideal types of formal, nonformal and informal education appears to be identified together with six additional subsets of education.

The criteria used in these clarifications are derived form variables in such a way that a specific criterion represents a particular value of a given variable. When education is regarded form a delivery perspective the variables can be said to be of two types. One type is, what might be called, "internal" variables such as learning processes, timing, staff, attendance, rewards and so on. The other type is accordingly constituted by "external" variables such as organization, objectives, resources, control. In the following part different attempts to establish subsets of nonformal education will be discussed. This discussion will further explore what criteria are utilized when subsets are established.

2.3 Efforts to identify subsets of nonformal education

Efforts to establish subsets of nonformal education further illuminates the vast diversity of educational programs that constitutes the extension of the concept. In the previous part, the heterogeneity of nonformal education was illuminated through efforts of conceptual clarifications. Due to this heterogeneity, efforts to classify nonformal education are troublesome, not to say virtually impossible when all-embracing classifications are tried. Consequently, the attempts made are rather intended to establish groupings for descriptive purposes.

An early attempt to establish groups of nonformal education was made by Sheffield and Diejomaoh (1972) in their study of more than eighty nonformal programs in Africa. Their loosely defined categories are based on a mixture of criteria that can be labelled "content", "age of clientele" (adults-youths) and "location" (urban-rural). Mostly, however, groupings of nonformal education are based on the content or the purpose of different programs or a combination of both. One such grouping is suggested by Harbison (1974), who used the following three broad categories: (1) activities oriented primarily to the development of the skills and knowledge of members of the labour force who are already employed; (2) activities designed primarily to prepare persons, mostly youth, for entry into employment; and (3) activities designed to develop skills, knowledge and understanding that transcend the world of work.

A couple of examples will further illustrate the complexity that presents itself when one tries to cope with the heterogeneity of nonformal programs in actual practice. The Marga Institute (1974) has undertaken a descriptive study of nonformal education in Sri Lanka for ICED/UNICEF. For the purpose of this study, the extension of nonformal education is established, first of all, by excluding programs sponsored and implemented by the Ministry of Education and including only programs by other governmental and non-governmental agencies. The further demarcation of the extension is somewhat arbitrary: Privately provided programs concerning shorthand, typewriting, bookkeeping etc. have been excluded since they are considered to be of routine character and since the output of such trained persons seems to be in excess of demands. Some small-scale programs have been excluded since no information was available, and other programs since they did not supply the requested information.

In order to present the different programs and group the nonformal programs, the variable "purpose" of the programs is chosen to establish the grouping. It is pointed out by the Marga Institute that the groups are somewhat arbitrary and that some of the programs are so extensive that they in reality serve several purposes. The actual grouping is consequently based on what is considered to be the main purpose of the programs and three groups were identified:

> (a) programs ... which have a vocational content and/or are employment oriented;
> (b) programs ... which are designed to provide education and training in social-psychological attributes which are essential requirements for development;
> (c) programs ... which are community development oriented.
>
> (Marga Institute, 1974, p. 57)

According to their initially established core extension of nonformal education, the groups constitute subsets of the concept of nonformal education. Due to the criteria chosen to obtain the subsets, namely the purpose of programs, all the groups coincide with formal education to a greater or lesser extent. This is most obvious in the case of the first group since these programs emerged due to the failure of the Ministry of Education to provide for the increased demand of education and training for farming, small-scale industries, hotels etc.

The second group is somewhat unique in studies of nonformal education, even though the goals are not unique in national educational policies. The social-psychological attributes in view are civic consciousness, loyalty and honesty, a sense of discipline etc., all highly valued in Sri Lankan culture. For example, the objective of the National Youth Service Council mentioned first reads as follows:

> ... to foster among persons in Sri Lanka in general and in the youth in particular a spirit of national consciousness, a sense of discipline, an awareness of social and economic problems and a sense of the dignity of labour.
>
> (Marga Institute, 1974, p. 118)

The Marga Institute emphasizes the importance of these socio-psychological attributes in stating that these are essential requirements for any program of development. It is also pointed out that even non-governmental organizations offering programs belonging to the first and third group have incorporated in their programs education and training for character formation in line with the socio-psychological attributes mentioned above. However, especially the non-governmental organizations offering programs belonging in the second group are effective in achieving these objectives. It is, nevertheless, noted that due to different constraints, the organizations are unable to provide this training to such an extent that it will have a significant impact on the development strategies of the country. It thus seems that the criteria added to establish this group is some kind of measure of the effectiveness of achievements that is not based on the impact of achievements on development strategies.

A condensed and edited version of this study by the Marga Institute is given in a descriptive case study of education for rural development in seventeen countries presented by Ahmed and Coombs (1975a). In this version the programs are grouped under the following four headings:

> (1) agricultural programs and settlement schemes for rural youth,
> (2) women's training
> (3) skill training programs, and
> (4) rural development and employment generation programs.
>
> (Marga Institute, 1975, p. 259)

When the grouping is made in this way, the exclusiveness of the groups is even less than in the previously given grouping. Should this have been a classification according to the requirements of exclusiveness and exhaustiveness and the criteria "men" and "women" used, then it would have been possible to infer that women do not, for example, receive education for employment generation. However, even if such an inference cannot be made, the grouping creates the impression of women's training being different in some significant respect from the training of the rest of the groups. This is not to say that some training for women is not different from men's. One of the aims of the Lanka Mahila Samiti, the Sri Lankan Women's Association, is thus to promote "homecraft and motherhood" (Marga Institute, 1974). Sex as a criterion may yet be inappropriate for establishing groups of nonformal education unless a specific research purpose requires a sex differentiation.

It may further to be noted that in the edited version of the Marga Institute's study of nonformal education, the purpose of fostering social-psychological attributes is omitted. Of the programs belonging to this group in the original study, referred to in terms of the sponsoring organizations, two remain in the edited version. One is the Lanka Mahila Samiti, which in the edited version has been placed in the group for women's training, and the other is the National Youth Council, which has been placed in the group of rural development and employment generation programs.

In introducing the case study of education for rural development, in which the edited version of the Marga Institute's study is a part, Ahmed and Coombs (1975b) give a list of groups in order to display the heterogeneity of nonformal programs. The groups are established according to educational objectives without claiming that it is an outright classification scheme.

> 1. General education (literacy, numeracy, change-motivation, development-orientation)
> 2. General education plus occupational orientation and training (including elements of both farming and nonfarm occupations)
> 3. Improvement of family life (health, nutrition, home economics, family planning, etc.)
> 4. Training in farming and allied sideline production
> 5. Training in rural nonfarm skills
> 6. Training for small entrepreneurship and management
> 7. Training for village level leaders, animateurs, and extension workers
>
> (Ahmed & Coombs, 1975b, excerpts from pp. xxix – xxxi)

This grouping makes a finer partition of the extension of nonformal education than the two groupings discussed above, but even so, this grouping is not characterized by exclusiveness. For example, the second group with general education and occupational orientation and training coincide, as far as the voccational part is concerned, with other groups. The decision for placing a program in any group would have to be based on the main purpose of the program, that is, mainly general education or mainly voccational education of some kind. However, even if exclusiveness among groups could be established, the same problem of deciding what should be considered as the main purpose would remain since many programs are multi-purpose programs.

In an analysis of nonformal education, Coombs and Ahmed (1974) present a possible grouping that is based on criteria derived from other variables than educational. First of all, Coombs and Ahmed identify a subset of nonformal education that is relevant to their purpose, namely rural education for adults. In order to undertake the analysis, they establish groups of the stated subset, based on the underlying conceptions and theories of rural development: "the extension approach", which emphasizes communication of information about innovative technical practices; "the training approach", which emphasizes more systematic and deeper learning of specific basic skills and related knowledge; "the cooperative self-help approach", which assumes that rural transformation must begin with changes in the rural people themselves and emphasizes the building of local institutions for cooperative self-help and governance; and "the integrated development approach", which is highly versatile and accepting in its ideologies and emphasizes the coordination of all the major factors required for rural and agricultural development.

The groups are utilized by Coombs and Ahmed as an analytical structure for the examination of sample cases. Since many programs deviate from the pure form of a development approach and considering how the groups are utilized, these groups can be said to constitute ideal types.

The criteria used for obtaining the groups of nonformal education discussed in this part of the chapter generally represent one of the previously identified types of variables, that is, external variables. Mainly the external variable "purpose" has been utilized in two different ways. On the one hand, criteria of nonformal education were stated as "objectives", for example, as done by the Marga Institute (1974) and Ahmed and Coombs (1975a). On the other hand, criteria were expressed in terms of which "development strategy" nonformal programs are expected to serve, as done by Coombs and Ahmed (1974).

2.4 Conclusions

Nonformal education is defined as organized and semi-organized educational activities operating outside the structure and routines of the formal system. The definition is made from a perspective that concerns the way in which education is delivered and is given in terms of two criteria. One criterion concerns "organization" and the other "relationship to the school system". The criterion of "organization" permits an "either – or" grouping of informal education whereas the criterion of "relationship to the school system" does not completely differentiate between educational activities that belong to either formal or nonformal education. When this criterion is used, borderline cases thus appear.

When clarifications of the concept of nonformal education are tried, additional criteria are utilized. These criteria are derived from two types of educational variables, "internal" and "external" variables. When attempts are made to establish groups of nonformal education, mainly external variables are used and corresponding criteria are primarily derived from the variable "purpose". My argument at this point is that external variables should be used when further clarifications of the concept are tried. Since both formal and nonformal education satisfy the criterion of "organization", any internal variable valid for one type of education will also be valid for the other type of education. That is, internal variables, such as staff and rewards, presuppose that an educational activity is organized or semi-organized.

One external variable that is utilized in the examples discussed in the previous part of this chapter is "purpose". The criteria derived from this variable are stated as "objectives" or as "development strategies". When the criteria are stated as objectives, these are mainly objectives of knowledge and skills. In one instance a criterion is stated as an objective of attitude formation, the social-psychological attributes used by the Marga Institute (1974). These attributes are heavily stressed by the Marga Institute as essential requirements for development but not mentioned at all by the others under discussion here with the exception of a hint in this direction found in the first group of Ahmed and Coombs (1975b) in terms of "change-motivation" and "development-orientation".

It may be argued that this difference reflects different views of what should be the purpose of nonformal education for development, where the Marga Institute (1974) represents the view of a developing country and the others the view of the Western World. This seems to be a reasonable argument considering the fact that the objective of attitude formation is removed from the edited version of the study by the Marga Institute (1975), which was prepared for an audience in the Western World. This, however, implies that an important aspect, which should be considered in relation to nonformal education in development, is development objectives as they are set in development policies in different countries.

In the discussion concerning the objective of attitude formation by Marga Institute (1974) it was mentioned that particularly non-governmental organizations are effective in achieving these objectives. This fact touches upon another important external variable, which is not utilized in the discussed attempts of clarifications or groupings, namely sponsorship. It may be reasonable to assume that the organizations in the Marga Institute study, which are operated on non-governmental sponsorship, find it easier to leave room for attitude formations.

The effect of who provides the resources is stressed by LaBelle (1981, 1986). LaBelle (1981) looks at nonformal types of education from a historic perspective, and finds that when the main sponsor of nonformal education is the state, the sponsorship will be withdrawn unless the nonformal programs serve the goal of the state, and when the state is not a primary sponsor, there is room for goals which are not similar to those of the state. LaBelle (1986) further emphasizes the importance of sponsorship in his study of nonformal education in Latin America and the Caribbean where sponsorship and control is considered as central for the understanding of the function of nonformal education.

In sum, there is an apparent focus on external variables when nonformal education is defined and clarifications are discussed. This fact emphasizes the need to explore the setting in order to give the concept further meaning. Consequently, the descriptive outline of the setting should aim at identifying aspects of the setting which are of significance for external variables of nonformal education. In other words, what aspects of development have a bearing on external variables of nonformal education?

The white man had indeed brought a lunatic religion, but he had also built a trading store and for the first time palm-oil and kernel became things of great price, and much money flowed into Umuofia.
Achebe, reprint 1975, p. 161

Chapter 3

DEVELOPMENT AS THE SETTING FOR NONFORMAL EDUCATION

Since education is generally considered one of the important factors in development, whether as a key instrument or as one of several social factors which are dependent on or interrelated with each other, education in general, as well as nonformal education, is planned and implemented to serve a diversity of development objectives. The term development labels a complex phenomenon, and the meanings attached to the term depend on the particular aspect of development that is aimed at.

In the previous chapter it was found that when attempts are made to group instances of nonformal education, an external variable called "purpose" is utilized, either as "objectives" or, in one instance, as "development strategies". In both cases the variable "purpose" is derived from development, but stated from the point of view of a specific research aim, for example, rural development. However, since the meaning of a concept is contextual the emphasis need to be placed on a comprehensive view of development as the setting of nonformal education in development.

The term development represents the very essence of the problems: a number of countries have been labelled underdeveloped or, more recently, developing ones. This means that they are in the process of development. Development, as a term is used in different contexts and often as a synonym for words like social change, growth, evolution, progress and so on. Fägerlind and Saha (1983) point out that common to these words, with the exception of the word change, is the fact that they imply change in a certain direction, a direction that is highly valued by the user of the word (see also Jarvis, 1986).

Change and development, however, are by no means terms that have attracted attention only lately. This is shown by Fägerlind and Saha (1983) in their survey of theories of social change and development. The survey stretches from the theories presented by classical Greek philosophers to those presented by the social scientists of today. In the 20th century, however, the speed of change has accelerated making some countries move far ahead and leaving others far behind. The importance attached to the process and goals of development has thus increased.

The purpose of this chapter is to outline the setting of nonformal education as comprehensively as possible. The setting will be identified in terms of different models of development in order to describe the development goals that nonformal education can be expected to serve and the process within which nonformal education can be expected to function.

In the first part of this chapter, development as perceived by educationists will be discussed. The reason for this is that more often than not, educationists have tended to treat development as a phenomenon that has a generally understood meaning. Development is thus used without further specification of what development theories, approaches or aims the educationist has in mind when discussing education in development. There are, of course, notable exceptions, of which some will be discussed in this part, and the emphasis will be placed on those educationists who discuss development or social change from the viewpoint of more than one theory of development.

In the second part of this chapter, development will be outlined in terms of the changes that have taken place in development models during the past three decades. The reason for describing development in this way is, on the one hand, the fact that no single development model unambiguously accounts for all possible actions taken to promote development and, on the other hand, that possible actions today are indicated through the changes in emphasis that have taken place. In order to outline development approaches during the past thirty years as accurately as possible, the emphasis in this second part is placed on authors that work with development studies and who consequently represent different disciplines such as economics, social sciences, political science, geography etc.

3.1 Development as a general frame of reference among educationists

When theories of development or social change are used by educationists as a general framework, they are rarely discussed one by one but mostly grouped together. The educationists give the groups labels that seem to reflect some underlying aspect of development or social change that is more or less articulated. The different underlying aspects that can be found will together indicate in what way development is conceived. The significance of the labels thus concerns what aspect of development or social change that the educationists may have had in mind when attaching the labels and not whether the groups of theories are adequately labelled in terms of models or paradigms.

In their appraisal of national educational systems and national development, Fägerlind and Saha (1983) initially undertake a survey of theories of social change and development. The survey is concluded by the identification of four major "schools" or groups of theories within which Fägerlind and Saha find that prominent theories of change and development can be subsumed, with the possible exception of dependency theories. The four schools are (1) "The Classic

Cyclical Model" with constantly recurring cycles of growth and decay; (2) "The Augustinian Christian Model" with its idea of one major cycle ending in the "great catastrophe; (3) "The Linear Model" with its notion of incessant upward progress; and (4) "The Cyclical Linear Model", according to which a conflict orientation is added to the incessant upward progress.

The schools identified by Fägerlind and Saha (1983) seem to emphasize the course of development. That is, the four groups represent different views of the development process in terms of time and direction. Time and direction are components that together can be said to constitute the course of something, in this case development.

Paulston (1976, 1977) discusses social change in terms of a dichotomy based on approximately the same 20th century theories as are discussed by Fägerlind and Saha (1983). The two groups identified by Paulston (1976) are labelled (1) "The Equilibrium Paradigm and the concept of homeostasis/balance" and (2) "The Conflict Paradigm and the notion of endemic stress/change". These two groups are later labelled "The Equilibrium Paradigm" and "The Conflict Paradigm", respectively, by Paulston (1977, compare LaBelle, 1986).

Since Paulston is not primarily concerned with development but with social change, the selection of theories placed in "The Conflict Paradigm" include, besides Marxist and neo-Marxist theories, cultural revival and social movement theories as well as anarchistic and utopian theories. Nevertheless, it seems that the underlying aspect used by Paulston as a basis for the dichotomy relates to the way in which changes occur, as a gradual process or in a conflict manner. In other words, the underlying aspect is a question of how the process of change or development takes place.

A brief comparison between the groups identified by Fägerlind and Saha (1983) and the groups suggested by Paulston (1976, 1977) shows that on the whole there is an agreement between theories placed in "The Linear Model" and "The Equilibrium Paradigm". Between "The Cyclical Linear Model" and "The Conflict Paradigm" there is an agreement as far as Marxist and neo-Marxist theories are concerned. The groups used by Fägerlind and Saha and by Paulston represent the usual watershed in discussions of education and development even when only a few theories are used as the point of departure. This is, for example, the case when Bock (1982) differentiates between "functionalist theories" and "conflict theory", and Simkins (1977) differentiates between "functionalist" and "status-conflict" approaches.

Another way of grouping theories of development is used by LaBelle (1976), who discusses the concept of development from a political-economic point of view. He identifies two major groups of theories that can interpret and partly explain the state of underdevelopment. On the one hand, there is one group of theories according to which underdevelopment is considered to be primarily a result of inappropriate technology, value systems, social structures and similar factors. Development can thus be obtained by means of the provision of technology and capital and measured in terms of, for example, per capita production. LaBelle labels this group "deprivation – development thesis". On the other hand, there is the group of theories according to which underdevelopment is regarded as a result of political and economic intervention and control. In order to obtain development, national and international structural reforms are seen as a necessity. LaBelle labels this group "dependency – liberation thesis".

LaBelle is not explicit as to which separate theories belong to each group in the dichotomy, but he recognizes that when different theories of development are dichotomized, differing and even conflicting theories may be grouped together. Since Latin America is in the focus of the study made by LaBelle, it is likely that the group labelled "dependency – liberation thesis" represents dependency theories that originated in that part of the world. Nevertheless, the aspect of development that LaBelle uses as a basis for his dichotomy can be described as one that analyses the causes and remedies of development.

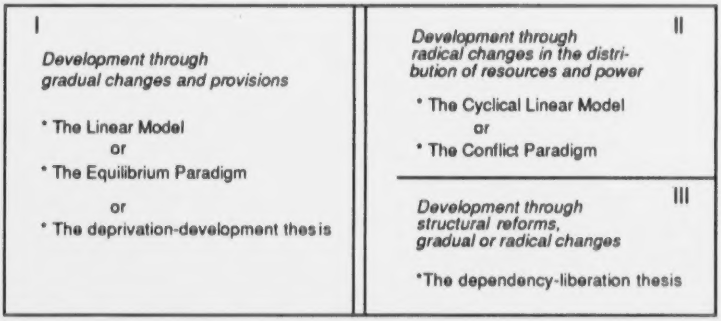
Once again, a brief comparison between the groups made by Fägerlind and Saha (1983) and the one given by LaBelle (1976) can be made by comparing the social change and development theories discussed by Fägerlind and Saha with the two major groups given by LaBelle. This comparison shows that the 20th century theories which Fägerlind and Saha placed in "The Linear Model" would, on the whole, look at the causes and remedies of underdevelopment in approximately the same way as the "deprivation – development thesis" of LaBelle. However, in identifying the four groups of development theories, Fägerlind and Saha have doubts about placing dependency theorists in any of the groups since dependency theory is not systematized or articulated enough. Consequently there seems to be no correspondence between the theories of "The Cyclical Linear Model" of Fägerlind and Saha and the "dependency – liberation thesis" of LaBelle, except that they are the opposites of the first type of theories.

The difficulties in handling the dependency theory depends probably to a certain extent on how the relationship between dependency theory and Marxist theories is perceived. An author like Browett (1985), discussing the rapid economic growth of newly industrializing countries, regards the dependency perspective as a neo-Marxist one. The neo-Marxist perspective, however, is recognized by Fägerlind and Saha (1983) as the basis for dependency theory, but they nevertheless place them among Marxist theories of development.

More important than the unclear relationship between dependency theory and Marxist theories are the difficulties that arise from the number of variations of dependency arguments that exist, of which not all have obtained the status of theory (see Long, 1977; Palma, 1981; Altbach, 1982; Bernstein, 1982; Velloso, 1985). According to Palma (1981) and Velloso (1985), there are three types of dependency arguments. The concept of dependency is either regarded as a theory of capitalist underdevelopment, or viewed as an obstacle to capitalist development or, finally, considered a methodological tool for analysis. In the instance where the concept of dependency is regarded as a theory of capitalist underdevelopment, the theoretical foundation emanates from Paul Baran and Andre Gunder Frank (Long, 1977; Fägerlind and Saha, 1983; Velloso, 1985). The concept of dependency has since then been modified as a result of new patterns of capital accumulation and new forms of economic dependency, (see Futardo, 1977; Cardoso, 1982), and the other two strands have emerged. Palma (1981) and Velloso (1985) find that the most promising use of the concept of dependency is the third strand where the concept of dependency is seen as an analytical tool (see also Altbach, 1982). (For a critical reassessment of dependency theory, see Seers, 1981.)

Thus, as far as the presently discussed groupings of theories are concerned, the underlying aspects that seem to emerge concern, on the one hand, the process of development, that is, the course of development and how the process of development takes place, and, on the other hand, the causes and remedies of underdevelopment.

The comparisons that were made above show that in respect of the underlying aspects there are three easily identifiable clusters where each cluster consists of approximately the same theories. The three clusters are summarized in Figure 5.



I

Development through gradual changes and provisions

- The Linear Model

or

- The Equilibrium Paradigm

or

- The deprivation-development thesis

II

Development through radical changes in the distribution of resources and power

- The Cyclical Linear Model

or

- The Conflict Paradigm

III

Development through structural reforms, gradual or radical changes

- The dependency-liberation thesis

Figure 5. Groups of theories of development brought together into three clusters based on the process of development and remedies of underdevelopment

On the one side, there is one cluster which consists of the groups labelled "The Linear Model", "The Equilibrium Paradigm" and the "deprivation-development thesis". Hence, irrespectively of which separate theory is chosen form this cluster, the framework for analyses of education will mainly be outlined in similar terms. That is, development is obtained through gradual changes and through measures taken against deficits by provisions in different areas.

On the other side of the watershed, there are two clusters of theories. One consists of the groups of theories labelled "The Cyclical Linear Model" and "The Conflict Paradigm" that are made up of approximately the same theories. The common idea that emerges from these theories concerns the notion of conflict. When theories are chosen from either of these groups, education will be analysed from a point of view that looks for development through radical changes in the distribution of resources and power.

The other cluster consists of the theories labelled "dependency-liberation thesis". When this group is used as a framework for analyses of education, internal dependency is in focus and external dependency is left out. The remedies of underdevelopment are outlined in terms of structural reforms and the type of changes sought are in essence the same as in the previous cluster even though the causes may be looked at differently. However, since there are different versions of dependency arguments, the way in which the changes can be obtained is perceived differently, from radical revolutionary changes to gradual changes within the existing order (Esman and Uphoff, 1984). LaBelle (1976), who evidently discusses the concept of dependency as an analytical tool, finds that clear strategies for actions are not provided.

3.2 From an economic growth model to a basic needs model

The aspect of development most often emphasized concerns economic growth, mostly in terms of an increase in the efficiency of production. This view of development has to a large extent been influenced by the theory put forward by Rostow, in which development is seen as an evolutionary process with successive stages that all countries have to pass through (Streeten, 1981; Fägerlind and Saha, 1983). The consequence of this view is that developing countries need help to remove the obstacles that prevent them from following the "development path". The obstacles may be a lack of capital, skills, management etc. which can be supplied by international capital aid, technical assistance, foreign investment etc. (Streeten, 1981; Semyonov and Lewin-Epstein, 1986). In the 1970s, this view of development was challenged by the previously discussed dependency theorists who argued that the international aid relationship maintained or produced underdevelopment (see, for example, Long, 1977; Streeten, 1981; Bernstein, 1982; Cardoso, 1982). The dependency theorists also showed that foreign economic investment increased income inequality, hindered economic development and promoted over-urbanization (Semyonov and Lewin-Epstein, 1986).

Even so, the so-called newly industrializing countries such as South Korea, Taiwan, Mexico and Portugal, have experienced a rapid economic growth that cannot be explained very well by either of the above mentioned sets of theories. Browett (1985) argues that a single paradigm proves unsatisfactory in accounting for this experienced rapid growth. Instead of suggesting a new paradigm, as is usually done, Browett stresses the necessity of recognizing "paradigm accumulation" in the various interpretations of this growth performance. In line with this, Semyonov and Lewin-Epstein (1986) argue, in a study of the tertiary labour force sector, that two sets of explanations are necessary. When different segments of the tertiary sector are distinguished, Semyonov and Lewin-Epstein find that growth in the production oriented services is directly linked to investment dependency, whereas internal processes and level of development affect the social and personal services.

However, the approaches to development that have characterized both efforts aimed at development and theoretical discussions after World War II can be fitted into two major models of development. These two models can be labelled "the economic growth" and "the basic needs" models (Singer, 1981). Both models include different varieties since there are numerous types of approaches to development and consequently also the models themselves will vary. In the decades that have passed since World War II, there has been a gradual shift away from the economic growth model. The shift can be seen as a result of the failure of application of the economic growth model to improve the living standard of a population. The fact that there has been a shift away from the economic growth model can be explained by the severe criticism that has been voiced against this model in itself as well as against theories and other models that have influenced the economic growth model.

The main objective of the economic growth model is to increase the rate of growth of output through the savings ratio and the capital-to-output ratio. Consequently, the strategic development variable is capital accumulation, and development efforts thus give priority to export oriented and urban-based industrialization. This in turn causes a need for centralized planning and administration. Poverty would be attacked indirectly through high production growth rates which will spread to the poor population. This model is usually referred to as the Harrod-Domar model, and it added the aspect of output generation to the model of income generation as a result of investment suggested by Keynes (see, for example, Singer, 1981; Streeten, 1981; Rondinelli and Cheema, 1983; Rondinelli, 1986).

The economic growth model is also influenced, on the one hand, by the Kuznets curve that expresses the relationship between economic growth and equality (Singer, 1981; Streeten, 1981). During the early stages of economic growth, inequality and poverty will increase. After some time there will be a turning point, and economic growth will be accompanied by increased equality and reduction of poverty. In other words, economic growth will eventually "trickle down" to the poor and cause equality. However, records show that the relationship between economic growth and equality does not follow this theoretical

U-shape curve. During the past 20 to 30 years, there has been an unparalleled rate of economic growth in some developing countries, but this growth has failed, with a few exceptions, to reduce poverty and increase equality (Ghai, 1978; Singer, 1981; Streeten, 1981).

On the other hand, the economic growth model is also influenced by Arthur Lewis' theory of labour transfer, which is a model of a dual economy (Streeten, 1981; Rondinelli, 1986). In such an economy, one sector is the subsistence rural sector with low productivity and excess of labour, and the other is the industrial urban sector with high productivity. Increases in investment in the industrial sector will expand production which in turn will generate capital for further investments. The growth of the industrial sector will thus provide employment opportunities, and as a consequence there will be a transfer of labour from the rural to the urban sector until the excess of labour is absorbed. Eventually, developing countries will become urban-industrialized economies instead of rural-agricultural ones.

According to Streeten (1981), Lewis' model as well as actions taken in accordance with it have failed for three reasons. First, the rural-urban differentials were higher than expected and hindered the rapid absorption of rural labour. Secondly, both the rate of population growth and the rate of labour force growth were higher than expected. Thirdly, the technology inherited from industrialized countries was labour saving, and since it also increased productivity there was little expansion of employment opportunities. However, the migration from rural areas characterized by under-employment to urban areas did take place and has continued at an increased rate in spite of high levels of urban unemployment. This migration is mainly caused by economic factors that can be described as the "pull" effects of the city and the "push" effect of the countryside, but also social and psychological factors have played a part (Mountjoy, 1978; Rondinelli, 1986).

The 1960s were characterized by the fact that the economic growth model changed with emphasis on new factors. In 1960 Schulz suggested a change from investment in physical capital to investment in human capital (Singer, 1981; Streeten, 1981; Fägerlind and Saha, 1983). The human capital approach to development focuses on the need for human manpower in order to increase productivity. Thus, the human capital approach is still economic, but there is a change in the objects of investments. As a consequence of this approach, education became regarded as the major instrument in providing the necessary productive labour force. Sobel (1982) finds that the human capital approach

> ... thus provided a framework for incorporating the economics of education, the economics of discrimination, and the economics of poverty, and the new "planned family size" approach to demography into an applied branch of micro-economics, loosely termed "the economics of human resources".
> (Sobel, 1982, p. 56)

Another change in emphasis was from urban to rural development. In the 1960s it became evident that the emphasis on urban-based industrialization in some instances led to the stagnation of agriculture and in other instances to the failure of agriculture to grow fast enough to meet the food needs of the growing populations (Grigg, 1978; Rondinelli, 1986). Grigg remarks:

> Indeed, it is extraordinary how low investment was in agriculture in countries where not only was the great bulk of the population dependent on agriculture, but also much of their export income came from agricultural products.
> (Grigg, 1978, p. 57)

In the 1960s it became generally understood that greater attention should be paid to agriculture, and what has become known as the "Green Revolution" started. Through high yield varieties of cereals, fertilization and irrigation there would be an increased output. The Green Revolution did not, however, readily reach the rural poor depending on social, economic and political conditions (Grigg, 1978; Lipton, 1978; Karim, 1985). According to Siddle (1978), the Green Revolution aimed at "agricultural" development as a service to the urban sector instead of true "rural" development. That is, the Green Revolution as a development approach is in essence an extension of the economic growth model, and in the same way it fails to distribute benefits or to reduce poverty even in the rural areas (compare, for example, Rondinelli and Ruddle, 1978; Sheth, 1984; Wignaraja, 1984).

The bias of investment in and aid to the urban sector was yet turned into a bias toward the agricultural sector, which meant that urban and rural development policies were planned and implemented separately. In the 1970s the interdependence and the beneficial linkages between the two sectors became apparent, and rural instead of only agricultural development became a prominent goal (see, for example, Siddle, 1978; Streeten, 1981; Sheth, 1984; Wignaraja, 1984; Rondinelli, 1986).

A third change in emphasis occurred when the employment problem was highlighted. In the 1960s the International Labour Organization began to question whether the economic growth approach to development could yield higher employment rates and diminish poverty. In 1969 the ILO launched the World Employment Program, which attempted an employment-oriented approach to development. A major emphasis of this program was placed on the search for facts about the relationship between employment and other aspects of economic and social development and on the analysis of these facts. Great stress was also given to the provision of advice to governments based on these findings (ILO, 1977).

By the early 1970s, employment-oriented strategies of development were adopted, but the concept of employment appeared to be more complex in developing countries than in industrialized ones. According to Streeten (1981), the employment-oriented strategies consequently turned out to be dead ends. Miller

(1974) and Lea and Chaudhri (1983) find that the employment-oriented approach was still primarily economic and did not benefit the rural poor. The World Bank directed attention to the continuing poverty and inequalities in 1975 and called for policies concerned with what has become known as "growth-with-equity" (see, for example, Streeten, 1981; Lea and Chaudhri, 1983; Rondinelli and Cheema, 1983). The call for growth-with-equity together with the previously mentioned recognition of the beneficial linkages between rural and urban areas have led to further considerations of new approaches to spatial development. Discussions of what would be the most appropriate spatial structure for promoting economic growth with social equity have led to the recognition of the need for deconcentrating urbanization through systems of secondary cities. Secondary urban centres may, depending on local conditions, increase food production, provide markets for agricultural products, provide greater access for rural people to commercial and personal services, and provide off-farm employment opportunities (Rondinelli, 1983).

In 1976 the ILO, at the World Employment Conference, extended the labour-intensive approach by incorporating a strategy that would directly meet basic human needs. This targeted approach was an answer to the failures of the economic growth model and was very soon accepted. A couple of months after the ILO Conference, the basic needs approach was adopted, as part of the New International Order, by the Non-Aligned Conference in Sri Lanka. Later the same year it was decided that the implications of the basic needs approach should be related to the organizations of the United Nations system, and at the same time the approach was adopted by the World Bank and the Club of Rome (Grant, 1977).

As a strategy for development, the basic needs model is as yet, however, neither complete nor systematic. Ghai (1978) examines five international statements aimed at broadening the perspective on development and outlining implications of this broadened perspective. Even though the examined documents were prepared for different purposes, Ghai finds a number of common features. The main emphasis on development planning and policy should be to meet the basic needs of the poor; the core material needs are identified as food, education, health, housing and sanitation; basic needs should not be limited only to material needs but should also include fundamental human rights, freedom, participation etc.; basic needs will change according to the growth of the economy and the aspirations of the people; there is a recognition of the necessity of different processes to meet the basic needs in individual countries as well as of the distribution of political power as a central factor affecting initiation and implementation of basic needs strategies (Ghai, 1978, p. 14-15).

A final aspect of the economic growth model not yet discussed here, namely centralized planning and administration, became questioned as a result of the changes in the approaches to development in the 1970s. These changes imply that development should take place from "the bottom up" instead from "the top down" and accentuates the conflict between the centralized planning and the desirable redistribution of benefits and the activities that called for participation. Esman and Uphoff (1984) find that there was an "organization gap" between central government agencies and the rural communities that they were expected to assist. The need for local institutions to act as intermediaries between rural residents and both government and private agencies became apparent. Local institutions may range from local government bodies to locally based membership organizations. It is, however, the latter type of local institution, collectively named "local organizations", that has attracted most attention recently even though the idea of using local organizations for the broadening of social participation is not new (see, for example, Nash et al., 1976; Johnston and Clark, 1982; Uphoff and Esman, 1983; Esman and Uphoff, 1984).

One of the structural principles of organization concerns decentralization (Uphoff and Esman, 1983), which has become highlighted as an effect of the criticism in the 1970s of the prevalent centralized planning and administration. A number of countries have since then launched more or less successful decentralization programs (Cheema & Rondinelli, 1983; Rondinelli & Cheema, 1983; Bray, 1985; Conyers, 1986). The idea of development being directed from "the bottom up" would require decentralization programs in terms of devolution that would place both decision-making and operations in the hands of local institutions. Depending on local conditions, devolution may be inappropriate and decentralization will instead be regarded in terms of deconcentration of authority to regional offices (Uphoff and Esman, 1983; compare Rondinelli and Cheema, 1983).

According to Lea and Chaudhri (1983, see also Johnston and Clark, 1982), the term "integrated rural development" evidently summarizes the different changes in emphasis even if the term is used differently by different authors. Lea and Chaudhri accordingly find that the term integrated rural development was coined for those situations where development objectives are concerned with some or all of the following aims: to provide for basic needs, to create a beneficial relationship with other levels of the economy, to encourage self-reliance and public participation and to promote administrative decentralization.

It thus seems as if the emphasis on development has shifted from economic growth to direct improvement of living conditions. But even so, the economic growth aspect cannot be neglected. This is also explicitly stated in the Program of Action of the World Employment Conference in 1976:

> In developing countries satisfaction of basic needs cannot be achieved without both acceleration in their economic growth and measures aimed at changing the pattern of growth and access to the use of productive resources by the lowest income groups ...
>
> (ILO, 1977, p. 192)

The situation in parts of Africa during the first part of the 1980s has further stressed the necessity of accelerated production. Donnelly states:

> In much of Africa, not enough is produced to satisfy basic needs, no matter how that production were to be distributed. With wealthier countries much needs deprivation arises from maldistribution, in most of Africa the more immediate problem is underproduction.
>
> (Donnelly, 1985, p. 8)

The necessity of output directed to those in need, so-called targeted growth, is discussed by Lee (1978) in terms of the composition of output in relation to what is available and who consumes how much. Lee concludes that changes in the composition of output in favour of necessities requires further structural changes such as a change in the ownership of productive assets (compare Griffin and Khan, 1978).

It must, however, be noted that economic participation by rural areas should not be considered only in agricultural terms even if developing countries are nearly always agrarian societies. The hard core of the rural poor are those without access to land as means of support, but land redistribution schemes may not always be the adequate strategy (see Wennergren, 1986). The economic participation by rural areas also needs development policies which aim at rural industrialization in terms of small- and medium-sized industries (Rondinelli and Ruddle, 1978; compare Nyerere, 1982).

To summarize the changes that have taken place in the past three decades, it can be concluded that it in actual fact is not a question of one model replacing another. This conclusion is, however, dependent on how the basic needs model is perceived. According to Emmerij (1978) there are a number of fallacies in different interpretations of the basic needs model. Emmerij, who was one of the basic need model's originators, states that the basic needs model is an overall development approach that covers all sectors of the society. However, the gradual shift away from a simplistic economic growth model has meant that several areas besides economic growth have become emphasized and it may be argued that the basic needs model is mainly a question of labelling.

Nevertheless, in order to avoid any misconceptions I will refer to the present approach to development as "broadbased". This means that it involves, besides economic growth and provision of basic needs, also an emphasis on rural development and employment orientation as well as a call for decentralization and participation in order to obtain the desired growth with equity.

In order to facilitate analysis and discussions of the present broadbased approach it is after all necessary to divide it into parts that together cover the totality and to find appropriate labels. A fruitful approach is suggested by Johnston and Clark (1982), who use "program areas" as their point of departure since these will encompass possible actions taken for development. The program areas identified by Johnston and Clark concern interventions that are production, consumption and organization oriented. Even if these program areas are identified by

Johnston and Clark for the purpose of discussing the need of redesigning rural development they cover the interventions that have become emphasized during the past three decades as presented in this part of the chapter.

In other words, the production oriented program area can be said to represent development policies where emphasis is placed on economic aspects of development. This program area includes programs which aim at economic improvement in terms of increasing production, whether agricultural or industrial, and in terms of increasing employment opportunities, whether salaried or self-employed. The consumption oriented program area refers to development policies employing strategies primarily concerned with the provision for basic needs. The organization oriented program area refers to policies concerned with institutional structures and managerial procedures necessary to organize the people for policy redesign and implementation. Thus, the present broadbased approach can be said to consist of the program areas for production, consumption and organization.

In essence these program areas also correspond to the three dimensions of development that are used as a point of departure by Fägerlind and Saha (1983) in their analysis of formal education, namely the economic, the social and the political dimensions. This view of the broadbased approach is illustrated in Figure 6.

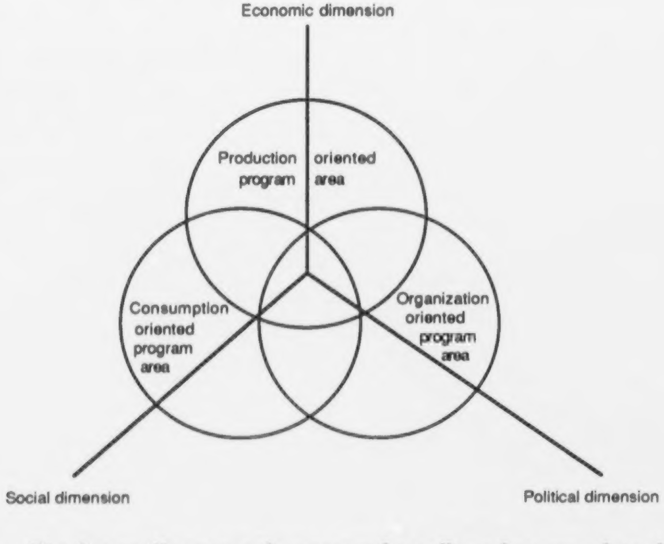

Economic dimension
Production oriented program area
Consumption oriented program area
Organization oriented program area
Social dimension
Political dimension

Figure 6. The figure illustrates the present broadbased approach to development aiming at development of the economic, the social and the political dimension through the program areas of production, consumption and organization

3.3 Conclusions

In this chapter development is discussed from two different points of view. One is the frame of reference obtained by educationists when theories of development are used. This frame of reference is mainly concerned with how development can be obtained; gradual against radical changes and provision for deficits against structural reforms. The other point of view is concerned with approaches to development and a frame of reference is obtained in terms of what should be the development goals. The present broadbased approach consists of program areas that are concerned with production, consumption and organization.

The opinion of what should be the development goals is of course related to the opinion of how development should be obtained even if this is not explicitly stated. The present discussion will draw conclusions about the relationship between "what" and "how"and consider implications for nonformal education.

When the economic growth model is related to how development should be obtained, this model can be said to be in line with theories that look at development as gradual changes and through the provision for deficits. The recent broadbased approach to development which focuses more on additional development goals than economic growth is also mainly characterized by gradual changes and provision for deficits. It must be recognized, however, that in this approach elements of redistribution of resources are also inherent, which means, in terms of the development theories, that structural reforms are aimed at.

From the point of view of development theories, structural reforms may be obtained either through radical changes that will overthrow the system or through gradual changes within the existing system. Since the broadbased approach is characterized by gradual changes, the structural reforms aimed at will take place within the existing system and to a large extent be a matter of legislation. However, whether redistribution of resources is feasible or not depends on the political system and on the availability of any productive resources at all to distribute. That is, even if the ideological orientation of a government favours redistribution and could consider, for example, land reforms, these reforms may not be possible due to a scarcity of available land.

The prevalent development approach is thus complex and involves all areas of economic and social life as well as political considerations. When such an approach is taken, this accordingly means that the nonformal educational activities are planned and implemented in the development setting to serve the vast diversity of development objectives discussed in this chapter. That is, there are nonformal educational activities serving in production oriented program areas, in consumption oriented program areas as well as in organization oriented program areas.

Furthermore, nonformal educational activities serve in a process of development that seeks gradual changes, whether the gradual changes concern provisions for deficits or structural reforms. From the point of view of development theories, the development process is not only matter of gradual changes but may also be a question of radical changes in terms of revolutionary structural transformations. In international considerations of what should be the development goals, this type of changes are not considered since the view of how development can be obtained is assumed beforehand, that is, through gradual changes.

However, it is possible that nonformal educational activities serve in a development process that seeks radical changes, which is the case in revolutionary societies. Thus, whether the development process is looked at in terms of gradual or radical changes will have to be regarded as an important factor that effects nonformal education. It can be argued that particularly the external variable "purpose", which was identified in the previous chapter, will lead to different objectives if the development process aims at gradual or radical changes. The objectives used as criteria for the groupings of nonformal education fall within a development process that aims gradual changes.

In addition, it must be noted that the social-psychological attributes regarded by the Marga Institute (1974) as important development goals cannot easily be fitted into the present broadbased approach as identified through international considerations. This accordingly means that a comprehensive description of development need to take into account that there are also national development goals which may not correspond completely to international considerations of what development is. This is illustrated in Figure 7.

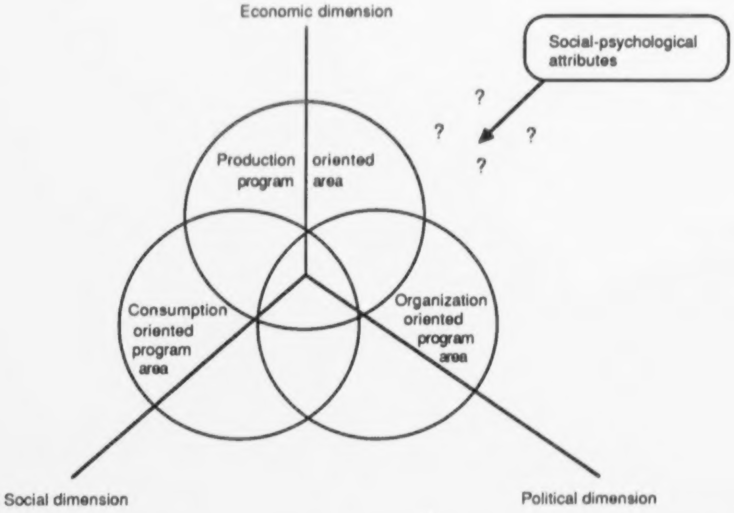

Economic dimension
Social-psychological attributes
?
?
?
?
Production program oriented area
Consumption oriented program area
Organization oriented program area
Social dimension
Political dimension

Figure 7. The figure illustrates the present broadbased approach to development as identified through international considerations with a notation of an additional development goal in terms of social-psychological attributes

Finally, the objectives used for the previously discussed groupings of nonformal education can also be looked at from the point of view of the different program areas. Even in this case, areas of neglect appear. That is, that there is an emphasis on objectives that can be regarded as production oriented, but objectives that can be regarded as consumption oriented and organization oriented are less emphasized. This is not surprising since production oriented development goals have received priority from the start. However, there is also the possibility that nonformal educational activities in these program areas are not labelled by the term nonformal education and thus have been overlooked. This accordingly means that there is a need to advance the description of the setting by further exploring the consumption and the organization oriented program areas.

> Good policy analysis, as opposed to good intentions, consists in learning to understand the constraints of power – be it man's or nature's – and in learning to shape feasible programs within the limits they impose.
>
> Johnston and Clark, 1982, p. 13

Chapter 4

STRATEGY – POLICY – IMPLEMENTATION

In the previous chapter it was found that there has been a change in emphasis away from the economic growth model. It was also found that this change in emphasis does not necessarily mean that one model has replaced another but rather that several areas besides industrialization are presently in focus. Thus, the shifts in emphasis have led to a broadbased approach that involves efforts to increase production, to reduce poverty, to increase employment opportunities in both urban and rural areas, as well as efforts of administrative decentralization to encourage self-reliance. The present broadbased approach can generally be expressed in terms of production, consumption and organization oriented program areas of development.

Even though there has not been a shift from one model to another, the broadbased approach is still on a model level. The broadbased approach represents international considerations of what should be the development goals and not what the development goals actually are. Actions taken to reach development goals are specific for each country and operated under national development policies. In other words, even though a certain development strategy is suggested internationally it does not necessarily mean that this strategy is reflected in national development policies. On the other hand, even though the approach of economic growth dominated development thoughts after World War II, this does not necessarily mean that development goals specifically aiming at the improvement of living conditions could not have been part of national policies at that time.

It was found in the previous chapter that objectives belonging to the program areas of consumption and organization are of little significance when it concerns the grouping of nonformal education according to its objectives. The purpose of this chapter is to explore these program areas to further outline the development setting in order to identify additional factors that will be of importance.

In this discussion emphasis will be placed on the relationship between "ideas" and "actions" where national development policies, ideology and political processes on the local level constitute intermediary links. The first part of this chapter will concern the consumption oriented program area, which will be illuminated from experiences with community development and from some assessments of basic needs. The second part of this chapter will concern the organization oriented program area where mainly political processes on the local level will be discussed from the point of view of the organizational aspects of participation and local organizations.

4.1 Community development and basic needs

Community development, as a process of improving living conditions, is not a new idea. The origins of community development can historically be traced back to different efforts in many countries aiming at the development of a community. In community development attempts where made to improve living conditions without a main emphasis on economic growth long before the discussions of providing for basic needs started.

What is meant by the term community development is by no means clear except that it encompasses a process for improving living conditions in a given community. Dore (1981) mentions differences in definitions of "improvement" as well as differences in methods as the important issues. He finds that the improvement can have relative emphasis on production or consumption, on efficiency or equity, on productivity or community togetherness; and the methods can have relative emphasis on collective or individual action, on exhortation or subsidy incentives (Dore, 1981, p. 13). Dore also argues that the heterogeneity of programs represented by the label community development is not only a result of different accepted policies but also, and to a larger extent, dependent on the economic, political and social environment.

Experiences in India are often cited as examples of community development efforts because of its long tradition of experiments with rural reconstruction programs from the 1920s and onwards (Brokensha and Hodge, 1969; Gaikwad, 1981). Most attention internationally, however, has been paid to the Community Development Program which India launched shortly after independence and which was expanded to cover all India within a few years. In general it is found that due to the rapid expansion and to weaknesses in the scheme itself, this community Development Program has not been as successful as expected and it is said to have declined since the 1960s (see Gaikwad, 1981; Neale, 1983, 1985; Huizer, 1984).

However, through the years there has been a shift in emphasis in the Indian Community Development Program which can be related to the international considerations of development goals as discussed in the previous chapter. Thus, as stated in the First Five Year Plan, 1951-56, the Indian Community Development Program aimed at the overall development of the economic, social and cultural life in rural areas (Hettne, 1979) and at a change in attitudes of the people in rural areas to prepare them for rural development and planning (Wanmali, 1984). By the end of the First Five Year Plan it became evident that the Community Development Program did not contribute to the expected increase in food production, and the aim of overall rural development was toned down. In the Second Five Year Plan, the development of agriculture received higher priority, and the administrative and organizational structure of the Community Development Program was changed in order to provide a better network for agricultural production. In the Third Five Year Plan, the agricultural development was further emphasized, and India started to take part in the Green Revolution (Wanmali, 1984; compare Gaikwad, 1981; Neale, 1985).

In other words, the overall rural development goal was diminished in favour of production oriented development with emphasis on agricultural production. What remains of the Community Development Program appears to be the organizational structure which provides an administrative framework for different development programs (Wanmali, 1984). Consequently, it seems as if present programs of improving living conditions in India are not operated under the term community development. This is probably not a situation specific to India as Dore (1981) finds that there has generally been a change in labels since the 1950s as a result of the disillusionment with different community development programs. According to him, the "basic needs strategy" is just another label for community development and the new phenomenon in the last two decades is the bureaucratic institutionalization of community development.

However, at least as a label, the basic needs strategy has emerged and it has become of great interest to establish how efficient different countries are in satisfying the basic needs. This is of particular interest since the application of the economic growth model on the whole failed to improve living conditions. In order to identify "success", that is, improvement of living condition of poor people as a result of development progress, different measures have been developed on the basis of social indicators (Hicks and Streeten, 1979; Sharif, 1986). A widely accepted index has been developed by Morris (1979), namely a physical quality-of-life index (PQLI). The PQLI consists of three indicators, namely rate of literacy, infant mortality and life expectancy, that are given equal weights and averaged. (For a critical discussion of the PQLI as a measure, see Hicks and Streeten, 1979.)

The relationship between GNP per capita and success in terms of PQLI is discussed by Morris (1979). Even though countries with high per capita GNP tend to have high PQLI and countries with low per capita GNP tend to have low PQLI, there are important deviations at the upper and lower per capita ends, that is, some countries with high per capita income have low PQLI and *vice versa*. Since not all countries with high GNP per capita are efficient in satisfying basic needs, it proves difficult to find a model that will explain the relationship. The picture is further complicated by countries that do well in satisfying basic needs in spite of a low GNP per capita. Goldstein (1986) finds that the relationship between GNP per capita and level of basic needs has mostly been described as curvelinear with a treshold of change or simply as nonlinear.

According to Goldstein (1986), however, the satisfaction of basic needs follows a nonelinear curve relative to per capita income, asymptomatically approaching a limiting level, that is, as per capita income increases, the increment in basic needs satisfaction is less and less steep (compare Hicks and Streeten, 1979). Goldstein arrives at this conclusion after a study of infant mortality rates in 116 developing and developed countries from 1950-80, where infant mortality, as an output indicator, represents availability of sanitation, clean water and nutrition and the absence of health hazards, and where the determinants of efficiency include export structure, internal distribution, late development and access to education.

One of the countries with low level income that has achieved remarkable social development in relation to low GNP per capita is Sri Lanka (Morris, 1979; Isenman, 1980; Seneviratne, 1980; Grant, 1983; Jayawardena, 1984; Goldstein, 1985). According to Morrison and Waxler (1986), different studies of Sri Lanka using different indicators show the same high rankings for basic needs indicators and the same low rankings for economic indicators. The achieved social development cannot, however, be ascribed to a pronounced basic needs approach. Already at the time of independence in 1948, Sri Lanka was comparatively better off than, for example, India in respect of life expectancy, adult literacy and primary education (Isenman, 1980). In the 1940s, different programs aiming at social welfare, for example through food subsidies, were initiated and have for forty years accounted for 30 per cent of Sri Lanka's budgetary resources, which in turn has caused a stagnating economy as well as high levels of unemployment (Seneviratne, 1980; see also Lea and Chaudhri, 1983). Uphoff and Esman (1983) find that even though there was a high increase in rice yields in Sri Lanka from the middle of the 1950s to 1970, Sri Lanka still shows up poorly in respect of food self-sufficiency. These authors thus find that the Sri Lanka government worked more seriously towards welfare and equity than towards production goals.

However, some thoughts must be given to the individual costs at which social changes can be obtained. Kearney and Miller (1985) find that the suicide rate in Sri Lanka has tripled in the period from 1955 to 1974 with a subsequent small decline only to reach record heights in 1978. Since no single factor or combination of factors seem to explain the increase in suicide satisfactorily, Kearney and Miller find it possible that it may be a result of social, demographic and attitudinal factors. They conclude:

> Sri Lanka may be a contemporary example of the social change and disruption identified by Durkheim nearly a century ago lying behind rapidly rising rates of suicide.
>
> (Kearney and Miller, 1985, p. 91)

The fact that Sri Lanka has achieved social development to a larger extent than most low-income countries has led Morrison and Waxler (1986) to study basic needs indicators within Sri Lanka during the period 1971-73. They find variations between districts and are able to identify three groups of districts. These groups are analysed in relation to additional demographic-contextual and service-institutional variables, and three patterns of basic needs distribution emerge. As a result, for each group of district, factors that affect the level of basic needs are dependent on local conditions. As a matter of fact, it may be noted that one of the groups identified by Morrison and Waxler (1986) includes four of the districts with the highest suicide rates observed by Kearney and Miller (1985). One of the other groupings of districts identified by Morrison and Waxler is approximately the same as the plantation sector which is described by Jayawardena (1984, p. 319) as a "deprived pocket within the population", hidden in the national statistics. For example, infant mortality rates increased in the 1970s in the plantation sector and was by 1974 comparable to the rates in the 1930s (compare Isenman, 1980).

Morrison and Waxler (1986) find that the best empirical explanations of the differences between their three identified groups of districts are ethnic group membership and economic structure. They conclude, however, that the most viable theoretical explanation of the variations in basic needs within a developing country must center on the political power at the local level.

How political processes affect the welfare of individuals when effects of aggregate growth are removed is studied by Moon and Dixon (1985) through the empirical question "What kind of state achieves the highest level of welfare for its citizens?" (p. 661). The political attributes studied are size or strength of the state apparatus, political democracy and ideological orientation, which are analysed by applying a multiple-regression analysis technique to data on the PQLI for 116 countries (of which 103 countries are the same as in the study by Goldstein, 1985). The main findings are that state strength promotes physical well-being in states with a leftist ideology and inhibits the provision of basic needs in states with a rightist ideology. In states with mainly a centrist ideology, state strength does not appear to have any influence. Irrespectively of state strength and ideological orientation, the positive physical well-being is related to democratic processes. Moon and Dixon conclude:

> The really bad news for basic needs is to be found in the poor, nondemocratic nations with a mismatch between ideology and state strength. We describe, of course, a depressingly large percentage of the Third World.
> (Moon & Dixon, 1985, p. 690)

The relationship between politics and actions taken in development has, of course, attracted attention. This is particularly the case in community development programs since these have in many instances employed self-help policies which are regarded as a way for governments to withdraw from their responsibilities for the poor. Dore (1981) finds that adversaries of community development considers it to be a "manipulative mechanism of social control" (p. 16) that hides the true nature and causes of underdevelopment.

The intricacy of the relationship between politics and community development is obvious since the political environment, through national and local governments, provides the framework within which community development can act, provides resources and constitutes the partner of co-operation (see Brokensha and Hodge, 1969; Cosio, 1981; Mushi, 1981; Kwo, 1986). As a consequence, community development can be used as a tool to serve other political ends than improving the living conditions of the poor. According to Olowu and Ayo (1985), the popularity of community development in Nigeria can be ascribed to deliberate attempts to divorce it from politics, even if it is questionable whether communities can develop without being reconciled with local and national power structures. Mandono (1985) reports from Zimbabwe that community development has "withstood the pressure of ideology" (p. 298) even if it at some stages before independence was used as a political weapon to surpress the African people.

Mushi (1981) argues that the understanding of goals and processes of community development must be related to different ideologies since no community development program can be said to be completely "ideology free". Hence, from an ideological point of view two separate approaches of community development are generally identified: the improvement approach and the transformation approach (Brokensha and Hodge, 1969; Long, 1977; Mushi, 1981; Muhondwa, 1986). The transformation approach aims at transforming existing social and economic structures through, for example, land settlement schemes and land reform programs, whereas the improvement approach does not involve the reallocation of productive resources but rather represents a modernization view of change. In terms of the theoretical considerations of how development should be obtained discussed in the previous chapter, both approaches can be said to aim at development through gradual changes; the improvement approach by way of providing for deficits and the transformation approach by way of structural reforms. The improvement approach is conceived as the common community development approach in non-socialist and non-revolutionary countries (see, for example, Brokensha and Hodge, 1969; Long, 1977; Gaikwad, 1981; Mushi, 1981; Huizer, 1984; Wanmali, 1984).

Both types of programs were launched in Tanzania shortly after independence for rural development (Brokensha and Hodge, 1969; Mushi, 1981). One type of programs was thus based on the improvement approach, which interpreted the process of community development in the same way as it was practiced in, for example, India. The other type was based on the transformation approach, which sought to create new village settlements with state financed modern farm systems. Nevertheless, both the improvement and the transformation approaches were, according to Mushi, prolongations of Western ideology with an economic focus inasmuch as they both sought to produce communities of progressive farmers. Tanzania later adopted a view of development that sought structural transformation through radical changes. However, Mushi (1981) finds that the present state is rather confusing since the ideological and political level is characterized by revolutionary assumptions, but the policy execution level is moving closer to ideas of the improvement and transformation approaches.

Some general implications that can be drawn from the consumption oriented program area concerning the relationship between "ideas" and "actions" are as follows. Internationally considered ideas of what should be the goals of development do not necessarily have correspondence in national policies when it is a question of consumption oriented development goals. In the example from Sri Lanka, it was found that the Sri Lanka government has put great emphasis on social welfare during the past forty years, that is, even during the period when the economic growth model was emphasized in international considerations. The example from India shows a contrary state of affairs. The national policy in India adhered to, for example, the Green Revolution of the 1960s and changed the emphasis in the Community Development Program from one that was concerned with overall rural development to one concerned with increased agricultural production.

Moreover, political processes on the local level have to be regarded as important for the execution of national development policies. This was found in Tanzania, for example, where the national policy of radical change did not have full equivalence on the policy execution level. However, even when national policies express development in terms of gradual changes, the political power at the local level will have to be considered as significant for the implementation phase as was shown in the example from Sri Lanka. The importance of political processes will be further illuminated in the following part of this chapter where local organizations and participation will be discussed.

4.2 Local organizations and participation

The emphasis on organizational aspects of development can be described against two sets of arguments. One set of arguments concerns the use of local organizations. The need for local organizations became apparent in the 1970s when failures of implementation was understood in terms of an "organizational gap". The perceived organizational gap put emphasis on the need for local institutions to act as intermediaries between the rural people and both government and private agencies. Johnston and Clark (1982) state

> Perhaps most frequently, policymakers fail to mobilize the political support necessary to guide their initiatives through the maze of competing and conflicting interests which lie behind intention and successful implementation.
> (Johnston and Clark, 1982, p. 162)

The second set of arguments concerns a wish to broaden social participation. Already in the 1960s, participation was discussed in relation to development policies (Dore, 1981; George, 1985). According to Dore (1981), this was due to the new wave of interest in democratic control that since 1968 had penetrated the international conferences on development. During the 1970s, participation also became an articulated part of development policies of the international organizations, for example, the World Bank in 1975 (George, 1985) and the ILO in 1976 (ILO, 1977). The need for participation was also expressed in the Alma Ata declaration of 1978 (Muhondwa, 1986).

Local organizations and participation are, of course, interrelated in the sense that from the point of view of local organizations, participation is one necessary supporting condition, and from the point of view of participation, local organizations is one social institution. Emphasis in this part of the chapter will be placed on participation since this is a diversified term and used for several other organizational aspects of development than just in connection with local organizations.

According to Wolfe (1982) participation can, on the one hand, be the equivalent to political democracy, that is, the people decide through elected political representatives upon development policies and objectives. On the other hand, participation can be the involvement of everyone in the process of social change and growth. Participation, in the ultimate sense, is by Setty regarded as human resource development, that is

> ... the development of human and inner material resources, with stimulus and support external to the community.
>
> (Setty, 1985, p. 76)

However, the term participation covers highly diversified phenomena and is perhaps even more kaleidoscopic than other terms used in discussions of development. Johnston and Clark (1982) find that the imprecision of the term participation may have rhetorical value in certain political contexts. To a certain extent the diversity of phenomena covered by the term participation is reflected in the different words that are added and which create the impression of separate concepts. The most common words added when discussing participation are "community", "popular" and "people's" (Bugnicourt, 1982; Hollnsteiner, 1982; UNICEF, 1982; White, 1982; Wolfe, 1982; Derrier, 1985; George, 1985; Setty, 1985; Ugalde, 1985; Muhondwa, 1986).

Participation can be a question of participating in decisions, in implementation and in sharing of benefits (White, 1982; George, 1985). According to Uphoff and Esman (1983, see also Johnston and Clark, 1982), economists commonly call it participation when it is a question of sharing the benefits of development, that is, in an *ex post* sense. However, as argued by White (1982), equitable sharing of benefits is understood in development policies irrespectively of whether the services are delivered to the people or whether the people take an active part in the provision. It is consequently participation and an *ex ante* sense that is of primary interest. Participation in this sense may mean involvement in decision-making (Uphoff and Esman, 1983) or both involvement in the decision-making and in the efforts of producing benefits. (Johnston and Clark, 1982).

Involvement in the efforts of producing benefits, that is, participating in implementation, is often regarded as a sign of commitment to ideas of self-reliance (see, for example, Coombs, 1980). However, participation in implementation is also called in question depending on whether the people are participating in decisions or not. When people are only called upon to provide physical work without having participated in the decisions it is not, according to White (1982), a question of participation. Bugnicourt (1982) regards it as a distortion and Setty (1985) as a mockery of the concept of participation. Brandström and Shirima (1984) name it a "contributory approach" which is mainly concerned with cost-saving aspects. According to Ugalde (1985) the extracting of free labour is described by the euphemism "self-help" but nevertheless increases the exploitation of the poor. White states:

> Participation can be an excuse for making poor people pay for the services they might otherwise expect government to provide.
>
> (White, 1984, p. 87)

In other words, implementation is not considered to become relevant unless there is participation in the decision-making process. This, however, presents further problems. Even if there is an emerging consensus of the significance of participation in the decision-making process, there is barely consensus of what is actually meant by participation in this process.

The first area of concern refers to where the initiative comes from, that is, if the changes are directed from the top down or from the bottom up The bottom-up ideology is more or less accepted in development policies today. White (1984), however, points out that there is a big gap between the bottom-up ideology and practice particularly in the areas of water, sanitation and health. Yet, it must be stated that the top-down approach is in actual fact still the most common one (see, for example, Gaikwad, 1981; Mushi, 1981; Cassim et al., 1982; Derrier, 1985; George, 1985; Ugalde, 1985).

Bugnicourt (1982), as well as Brandström and Shirima (1984), regard the top-down government-organized participation as "forced participation" which is a result of the political environment. The significance of the political environment is elaborated on by Wolfe (1982) in terms of two sets of tensions. The first set is tension between the struggle for rational development policies and the struggle for participation. The second set is tension between three different forces in society, namely the state, the sectors of the population that already participate, and the masses . Wolfe finds that in international considerations participation is regarded as a policy issue that is, or should be, sponsored by the first two forces but focus on the third force, thus implying that top-down initiated changes are not fully legitimate. The situation in specific national societies is a result of the interplay of forces in terms of tensions and adjustments between expectations and tactics of the different actors.

The forces mentioned by Wolfe (1982) relate directly to a second area of concern in discussions of the meaning of participation. This is the question of who shall participate in the decision-making process: should participation be an activity for elected representatives, or should every individual participate? Relating to top-down initiatives, Derrier (1985) argues that participation by the local authorities or community institutions is not enough since these do not constitute the target group. Derrier states that it is necessary to keep the target group and its needs in mind when a project is chosen. Furthermore, a consultation machinery that will voice the needs of the target group is perceived by Derrier to be a necessity in order to obtain "genuine" participation.

Also looking from a top down perspective, George (1985) finds that participation assumes that more than a few people are involved, but yet not every individual. According to George, there are thus three approaches to participation. The first concerns downward and upward linkages, where downward linkage is information and influence form higher levels of administration and upward linkage is interaction that is initiated and maintained by lower-level administration. The second approach concerns decentralized participation in planning, where administrators at the local level are encouraged to draw up plans that will be taken into account in planning at the national level. The third approach concerns draft plan participation where well-informed persons from different social groups are called upon to study and comment on proposed plans in order to ensure that the plans reflect the public opinion and to create enthusiasm and support for financing the plan.

Even if a government is favourable to and encourages participation by the people, there is, according to Bugnicourt (1984), a risk of pseudo-participation in different ways when institutional participation is used. Bugnicourt finds that, for example, cooperatives may turn into pseudo-cooperatives working on a top down basis. The institutional participation may also include a social worker that acts independently without referring to the people. Furthermore, Bugnicourt argues that local party committees often claim that they are acting on behalf of the people but are instead responding to top-down impulses. In analysing local organizations, Uphoff and Esman (1983) find that whether a local official looks "down" or "up" for guidance is the best way to identify on whose behalf the local official is acting. They conclude:

> The watershed in local government is where the eyes are fixed in both directions.
>
> (Uphoff and Esman, 1983, p. 323)

When participation of the people is discussed it refers, according to Hollnsteiner (1982) and White (1984), to the poor section of a community and not to every individual, since the local elite already take part in decision-making. Setty (1985) finds that the poorer, weaker sections in a community in fact seldom participate in decision-making but mainly contribute labour. Pigozzi (1982; see also Johnston and Clark, 1982) refers to a number of instances where participation has increased factionalism in communities, and Dore states that

> ... the more decisions are left to the village community, the more they will reflect that community's power structure.
>
> (Dore, 1981, p. 31)

From where the initiative comes and by whom the decisions should be made, is to a certain extent also dependent on what changes are aimed at. Primary health care provides a good example where Muhondwa (1986) finds that due to the technical nature of health activities, these activities tend to be initiated from the top and participation accordingly turns out to be of the "consultative" type. Ugalde (1985), however, finds that primary health care based on the participation of the communities in decision-making, planning, management etc. is an unrealistic model that cannot be implemented since these functions are political and should be carried out by political bodies.

Hollnsteiner (1982) finds that "achieving health for all cannot be anything but political" (p. 47). According to Hollnsteiner, the real issue concerning the people's participation is whether such participation in decision-making is seen as a positive force by the government. When people's participation is not regarded as a positive force, efficiency arguments are usually presented. One example of such arguments, which are called the élitist view by George (1985), is that plan administration becomes inefficient and lowers the quality of the plan. To this view are, however, also added doubts about the ability of the poorer sections of the community: the poor hold traditional beliefs that are obstacles to development, the poor are not considered intelligent enough, not seen as possessing freedom of action, not being able to organize themselves and finally, it is considered that the élite do know better (see also Dore, 1981; Bugnicourt, 1982; White, 1982; Ugalde, 1985) This type of arguments are subsumed under the heading of "paternalistic approach" by Esman and Uphoff (1982) as opposed to the "populistic approach" where the rural people is believed to be able to transform their communities if only they are left alone and not interfered with. (Compare with "populism" in Langlo and Lillis, 1988.)

Furthermore, the people's participation may not be regarded as a positive force due to the political implications of participation. Uphoff and Esman state

> In any regime of scarcity ... there will be 'politics' as individuals and groups compete for very limited resources, status and authority.
>
> (Uphoff and Esman, 1983, p. 325)

Uphoff and Esman (1983) note that their studies of local organizations contradict any lingering romantic and ideological ideas about inherent harmony within rural societies. This kind of ideological ideas is also the weakness mostly discussed in connection with community development programs (Gaikwad, 1981;

Johnston and Clark, 1982; Wolfe, 1982; Huizer, 1984; Kidd, 1984; Wanmali, 1984; Wignaraja, 1984). In community development programs there was a failure to recognize the different and even conflicting interests in the village community. The basic assumption was that all the people would work for economic development since their economic interests were common. It was also assumed that in cases where there was little community feeling, the community development program itself would create it. However, this "harmony-biased" strategy (Huizer, 1984, p. 14) tended to enhance conflict and increase the advantages of the richer and more progressive sections of the village (see also Wolfe, 1982; Kidd, 1984; Wanmali, 1984).

When participation is linked to decision-making, it implies changes in the distribution of power that may be regarded as a potential threat by those who risk loosing their power (Mushi, 1981; Pigozzi, 1982; Kidd, 1984). Blunt (1988) finds that when community participation is part of development projects, implementation has not always been successful since community participation involves a critical appraisal of institutions and their power structures. Wignaraja (1982) states that the extent of participation is dependent on the existing political space. Ugalde (1985) finds from examples in Latin America that participation may evoke political awareness, which will lead to political conflict. Hollnsteiner (1982) reports on the basis of an instance in Southeast Asia that outside funding agencies withdrew their support once the government labelled a participatory-based program as "political".

From the point of view of local organizations, Esman and Uphoff (1984; compare Cheema and Rondinelli, 1983) find that if local organizations contribute to development objectives that can be labelled "empowerment", then these organizations may be regarded as potentially subversive. Cheema (1983) states that only those voluntary organizations which have been created by the government or those organizations that assist central government agencies in their implementation work are likely to survive and grow. Gagnon (1976) discusses examples where cooperative systems run into obstacles which help to destroy them or to check their development as soon as they surpass objectives of improvement and begin to question existing structural relationships. However, Huizer (1976, see also Lea and Chaudhri, 1983) finds that peasant movements can through gradual escalation of demands finally make radical demands and become a revolutionary force at national level:

> Only by going carefully, and remaining well within the rules of the game, could the first step be made toward creating representative interest groups against the heavy weight of traditional patronage and economic repression.
> (Huizer, 1976, p. 339)

In line with the actions taken as reported by Huizer (1976) and aware of the political implications of participation, Jagannadham (1979) discusses the possibility of replacing the term participation in some instances with the term "involvement" that conveys the connotation of belongingness instead of the sharing of power.

> "Sharing of power" is shunned whereas stimulating "belongingness" might not generate resentment among the members of the establishment.
> Jagannadham, 1979, p. 139)

As long as participation contributes to improvements, and thus is understood as "involvement", it is mainly regarded as a positive force that can aid in the implementation of development goals. Once participation enters in the empowerment process of the poor section in a community, and is thus understood as the "sharing of power", it has political implications which may be resented. The political forces acting in a society also influence local organizations in the same way. Esman and Uphoff (1984) find that when local organizations contribute to net productive benefits they are regarded as efficient and are generally desired whereas when entering the empowerment process local organizations become controversial.

4.3 Conclusions

The relationship between internationally considered ideas of what should be the development goals and the phase of implementation is the primary focus in this chapter. The intermediary links discussed are national policies, ideology and political processes on the local level. Internationally considered ideas of what should be the development goals give the general outline of what possibly might be the goals of development in different countries. At present these ideas are expressed in a broadbased approach which covers production, consumption and organization oriented development programs. What the actual development goals are cannot be assumed beforehand since national policies will state priorities in a specific country.

When community development is looked at from the point of view of how development can be obtained, three general approaches to development are found. Two of these approaches aim at development through gradual changes within the existing system, namely the improvement and the transformation approaches. The improvement approach aims at the provision of deficits and the transformation approach at structural reforms. The third approach is characterized by revolutionary assumptions and aims at radical changes by way of structural transformations.

It may be inferred that as far as improvement approaches are concerned, the use of local organizations and participation of the people is generally regarded as a positive force. It seems, however, that as soon as structural reforms are aimed at these are controversial and need further considerations. Radical changes on national level, that is, top-down initiated, as well as potential radical changes at the local level, that is, bottom-up initiated, encounter problems.

Even when structural reforms are initiated from the top-down these are not easily accomplished. In the first part of this chapter it was found in the example of Tanzania that the local execution level seemed to move towards the improvement approach. Alberti (1976) also reports from Peru that the structural reforms failed to achieve the desired social aims through legislation even though the economic objectives were met. One cause of this failure was, according to Alberti, that technical management teams remained intact and the group privileges they had enjoyed before the reform were maintained. Eckstein and Carroll (1976) find that in the case of structural reforms, it is important to choose the correct postreform property-management model, which evidently was neglected in the Peruvian case. They argue that in those instances when land reforms, which is the most likely way of distributing productive assets in rural communities, have been successful in improving living conditions, this success has depended on the organizational model chosen and not so much on the land distribution process itself.

When radical changes are initiated from the top-down they may be considered as a threat by those in power on the local level, that is, by those possessing the productive resources. When this type of changes are initiated from the bottom-up they may be regarded as a threat by those in power both at local as well as at national level. In either case radical changes and even transformations within the existing system may encounter problems. In terms of participation this means that when participation is regarded as "involvement" and thus part of improvement approaches, it is looked upon as promoting efficiency of development, whereas as soon as participation is looked upon as the "sharing of power", it comes close to a revolutionary ideology of radical changes and is thus resented by those already in power.

Thus, it can be concluded that the variable identified as significant in the previous chapter, that is, gradual against radical changes, has been further emphasized in this chapter, primarily through the approaches of improvement, transformation and radical change. In addition it is apparent that the further differentiation of where the initiative comes from is necessary.

Nature does not guide theorizing; objects do not come stamped with appropriate classifications.
D'Amico, 1988, p. 205

Chapter 5

NONFORMAL EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCES IN DEVELOPMENT

The first outcome of this study is the recognition of the possibility that there exists nonformal types of education that are not labelled by the term nonformal education. Even though the term nonformal education must be regarded as convenient from a communication point of view, it nevertheless limits perception. That is, nonformal education is today often planned and implemented as part of comprehensive development programs. As such they are not often labelled with the term nonformal and thus run the risk of being overlooked when analyses of nonformal education are based on those activities that in actual fact are labelled by the term.

The search for nonformal educational activities that are not labelled by the term can be made in the setting of development by departing from the previously identified criteria for nonformal education: educational activities that are organized or semi-organized and that are operated outside the formal system.

In the first part of this chapter such educational experiences will be discussed mainly from the point of view of community development and from the present broadbased approach to development with examples mainly drawn from the area of health. In the second part of this chapter educational experiences will be discussed from the point of view of top-down and bottom-up initiated programs, respectively.

5.1 Development and education

The present discussion of development and education will take community development as its point of departure. The educational experiences in community development have a long history particularly since the roots of community development can be traced to missionary and colonial enterprise in their attempts to promote the development of a community through education. In the late 1940s, the concept of community development was introduced instead of the missionary "mass education". At the same time, community development became an expressed policy of the British Colonial Office (Brokensha and Hodge, 1969; compare Kwo, 1984). In the American tradition, community development has its roots in American rural extension education as well as in American Negro education. The American agricultural-extension methods became applied in India through American personnel in Indian community development programs. Different models taken from American Negro Education influenced educational work and community development in Africa (Brokensha and Hodge, 1969).

The educational component of community development that thus constitutes the origin, is the kind of educational activities that is covered by the definition of nonformal education. As was shown in a previous chapter (chapter 4), development policies have enlarged the concept of community development to include other aims than those that can be obtained through education alone. In the present context of community development, education is consequently only one of the means for development, and it is used to complement other project inputs.

The changes in emphasis of development through other approaches than the ones that are meant to promote economic growth seem to have had little impact on discussions of education in the context of community development. Authors like Rondinelli and Ruddle (1978) on the whole discuss education for rural development along the same lines as Coombs and Ahmed (1974) mentioned previously, but with a few disparities. Rondinelli and Ruddle mention the education of women as well as the importance of "training for trainers" (p. 96) and participant training programs. On the other hand, the cases of community development reported in Dore and Mars (1981) refer mainly to education in terms of access to schooling, and with only a few references made to educational programs of the nonformal type.

Thus, even if community development is found to have its roots in education, the role of education has diminished through the years, relatively speaking. That is, there has been a change in the meaning of the concept of community development where the emphasis has shifted from mainly educational inputs to other development inputs, within which education is serving. Furthermore, it seems as if the shift in emphasis has been from a focus on social aspects to a focus on economic aspects of development. Consequently, the education mostly discussed in community development presently will mainly aim at agricultural or industrial vocational education, whether it is delivered through formal or nonformal types of education. As such, this type of education can generally be regarded as serving in the production oriented program area and not, which may be assumed, in the consumption oriented program area.

In the present broadbased approach, however, it is generally agreed that education should satisfy a number of learning needs that will enable a person to participate fully in and contribute to society. When education is looked upon as basic needs, the role of education is at least two-fold: on the one hand, education is a basic need in itself, on the other hand, education is the means through which basic needs can be fulfilled. These two roles of education are of course interrelated and can or should only be separated for the sake of clarifications and conceptual understanding.

In the instance when education is regarded as a basic need in itself there seems to be no universal agreement as to what type of education is needed (Hopkins and Ribeiro, 1979). However, the type of education usually referred to is formal education which also is a human right. As a basic need, formal education is often discussed in terms of input and output indicators such as access to and duration of schooling, numbers of teachers, enrollment rates etc. Targets of education as a basic need are usually stated as literacy for all and basic knowledge to survive with universal primary education as a minimum target.

It is not possible to reach these targets through formal education alone, however. There are not only adults who never had the opportunity to attend school but also young non-starters and early drop-outs who will grow into adults without the ability to read and write as well as lacking basic knowledge to enable them to participate fully in society. Furthermore, the targets may not be reached due to aspects of formal education in itself, for example, duration and curricula. According to Taylor (1981) it is now becoming evident that six years of primary schooling is not enough since the pupils at the age of twelve are not mature enough to engage in adult activities or to benefit from vocational education and may also easily revert to illiteracy.

As a means through which basic needs can be fulfilled, education should provide relevant knowledge and appropriate tools. To satisfy material needs such as food, water, shelter etc. is thus not only a question of supplying the commodities or making sure that people can afford them. It is also a matter of supplying people with knowledge: knowledge of nutrition, knowledge of how to keep clean water clean, knowledge of how to maintain sanitary equipments etc. To satisfy non-material needs such as employment, participation, equality etc. is not only a matter of governmental intervention and organizational reform but also a question of providing the people with knowledge and tools to participate in and contribute to changes in society.

It is, of course, far-fetched to expect formal education alone to constitute the means through which all relevant knowledge and attitudes and appropriate tools are given. Not only is this inhibited through the same constraints as are given above when education is regarded as a basic need *per se*, but also through the, by necessity, limited curricula. In the course of a limited number of years, be it six or eight or nine, knowledge and tools to meet material and non-material basic needs have to compete with the general knowledge that the school by tradition is expected to provide.

A consequence of the in many instances perceived inadequacy of formal education is that a number of educational programs are launched both to provide education as a basic need in itself and to make education into a means to satisfy basic needs. The programs launched may have educational objectives ranging from rather specific ones such as literacy to more comprehensive ones such as general health education. Since these educational programs are organized or semi-organized activities operating outside the formal system they thus belong to the concept of nonformal education. More often than not, these educational programs are not referred to by the term nonformal education but rather stated in terms of the objective which the program is designed to meet, for example, literacy or health.

Thus, even if the importance of education in community development programs seems to have decreased, it can easily be stated that education as a development tool has received increased attention in the present broadbased approach. The basic need of health provides a good example of this. The poor health status in developing countries has resulted in efforts to develop health care systems that will cope with the most immediate needs, so called primary health care. Primary health care should, according to the Alma Ata declaration of 1978,

> ... include education concerning prevailing health problems and methods of preventing and controlling them, promotion of food supply and proper nutrition; an adequate supply of safe-water and basic sanitation; maternal and child health care, including family planning; immunization against major infectious diseases; prevention and control of locally endemic diseases; appropriate treatment of common diseases and injuries; and provision of essential drugs.
> (Cited in: Yesudian, 1984, p. 63; Stone, 1986, p. 293)

In the declaration, primary health care is regarded as an equitable alternative to the previous medical model which was curative, urban and hospital-based (Stone, 1986). The emphasis in primary health care is placed on health education and prevention. The idea of prevention, however, involves also other sectors in the community besides the health sector, for example those operated as public utility services providing clean water and environmental sanitation. Ramalingaswami (1986) finds that the success of the public utility services are critically dependent on the hygienic use of water and food handling which is a result of education. According to Ramalingaswami, education is in the view of many so important that it should precede or at least coincide with the provision of such services.

Education in primary health care is, however, not only a question of providing knowledge but also of changing attitudes. There is a positive attitude towards curative services and a lack of faith in preventive health care (see, for example, Stone, 1986; Muhondwa, 1986). According to Yesudian (1984), people who have been given one-sided information about curative services and acquired certain attitudes towards it, should receive health education that mainly "de-educates" them from their present attitude. Yesudian furthermore emphasizes the importance of a program for health education that should be directed towards the disadvantaged groups of the population. The educational programs should be based on the rights to access to health services, the quality of the services and knowledge of health promotion as well as on knowledge of causes and treatment of infection.

However, Stone (1986) finds that the positive attitude towards curative services cannot only be ascribed to the fact that the people perceive these services as immediately gratifying but also to the fact that they perceive themselves as already possessing the necessary knowledge. That is, there exists indigenous knowledge and habits of basic health and illness prevention (see, for example, Bibeau, 1985; Leslie, 1985; Minjas et al., 1985), but it is adequate cures that people in fact find lacking. In either case, the fact remains that health education also has to concern attitude formation towards preventive health care.

When looking at development and education, it need also be recognized that the launching of nonformal educational programs yields a further role for education in development, namely that of also educating the educators to be. As far as education of the educators to be is undertaken as an organized or semi-organized activity operating outside the formal system, it is also one type of nonformal educational activity.

A vast task is to educate the "army of para-professionals" (Grant, 1983, p. 22) needed to meet basic needs. The area of health education continues to provide good examples. First of all, in primary health care programs there is a reliance on a hierarchy based on community-based health worker who is a volunteer (Muhondwa, 1986; Stone, 1986). According to the WHO's guide-lines, this primary health worker should be given six to eight weeks of training (cited in Muhondwa, 1986). In the urban setting in Colombo, Sri Lanka, the health workers at the lowest level are not unpaid volunteers but receive salaries. They received two months of pre-service training to learn about the following large number of areas: primary health care, health education, nutrition, physiology, garbage disposal, environmental sanitation, parasitic diseases, common infections in the city, pest control, social diseases and family planning. (Cassim et al., 1982).

The magnitude of educational and training efforts needed is estimated by Grant (1983). For example, Ethiopia is retraining 28,000 traditional birth attendants and community health workers, Somalia has trained 1,800 and India 100,000 community health workers, India has retrained 150,000 traditional birth attendants, Botswana is training one family welfare educator for each village and so on (Grant, 1983, pp. 33-34). The magnitude of the educational efforts can, however, also be found in specific health programs, and can be exemplified by a malaria control program in Nicaragua (Garfield and Vermund, 1986). In 1981 a mass campaign for malaria control with drug administration was realized. The campaign structure depended mainly on local mass organization, and to this end a pyramidal educational structure was created. According to Garfield and Vermund, 40 health educators worked in Nicaragua. These health educators trained 120 malaria health educators, who in turn each trained 10 persons, so-called multipliers. The multipliers trained 73,000 persons, so-called brigadistas, that finally administered the drug.

There is, thus, a vast number of educational activities that are organized or semi-organized and operated outside the formal educational system. These educational activities consequently belong to the concept of nonformal education. Nevertheless, this vast bundle of nonformal educational activities are usually neglected in analyses of nonformal education. This can be due to the fact that many of these activities are not labelled by the term nonformal education as well as due to the fact that the great attention of nonformal education is directed to programs in the production oriented program area which aim at vocational goals.

5.2 Development, education and participation

Development and education can be looked at from yet another perspective, namely from the point of view of the organization oriented program area. From a top-down perspective such programs involve the creation of effective organizational structures. In the first step this is a matter of legislation, but once the organizations are created it is a matter of education for participation, for example, education for holding positions in local offices. When it is a question of organizing people from a bottom-up perspective, the prerequisite is that people participate, which in turn implies that educational considerations have to be made. In either case, the skills and understanding that are required for effective participation can be taught and learned. As stated by UNICEF (1982), participation requires the training and orientation both of community members and of the local and national bureaucracy.

Discussions in the organization oriented program area often neglect the necessity of educating for participation. Osuji (1986) finds that too much emphasis has been placed on the creation of new organizational and administrative structures without the realization that the perceived problems in many instances are basically educational problems. This is made apparent in the discussion of decentralization and development that is presented by Cheema and Rondinelli (1983). In outlining a plan for successful implementation of decentralization programs, they merely hint at the need for education, on the one hand, for building administrative capacity and, on the other hand, for the purpose of mobilizing support. From the point of view of local organizations, Uphoff and Esman (1983) discuss leadership in terms of educational demands. One question raised through their work is how local organizations can be designed to incorporate non-literates in leadership positions. Fals-Borda et al (1976) find in their study of rural cooperatives that the need for the training of local cooperative leaders and members is officially recognized but the training is still seldom well organized and often uses defective methods.

The importance of education for participation is generally recognized but all the same with little further elaborations. According to Bugnicourt (1982), formal education, built on the Western model of education, encourages individualism or even rivalry and does not enhance participatory qualities. He finds it necessary to introduce drastic changes in the methods in and content of education. From a general point of view UNICEF states that "... people cannot be 'taught' to be participatory in non-participatory ways." (UNICEF, 1982, p. 128)

In the cases where education for participation is organized or semi-organized activities that are not delivered by the formal system, they are, according to the two criteria of the definition, a matter of educational activities belonging to the extension of nonformal education. However, when nonformal educational activities are referred to by the term nonformal education, education for participation receives minor attention, usually only as part of community development efforts. The further elaboration on education for participation will be made by turning to discussions concerning local organizations and health education, and also by turning to discussions where other educational terms, such as popular theatre and popular education, are used.

An articulated example of what may be called education for participation is given by Okafor (1985). He outlines a process for the involvement of rural people in establishing basic needs. This process is divided into five phases, and education and training are the dominant themes in three of these. Taken together, the five phases constitute a democratic approach where action cannot be taken before consensus has been reached. This process is, however, both time-consuming and labour-intensive and the utility of this type of process is, of course, related to the dilemma between productive efficiency in the short run and long-term considerations for self-reliance (compare Mushi, 1981; Hollnsteiner, 1982; Pigozzi, 1982).

Nevertheless, education for participation is in fact time-consuming and labour-intensive since there are two processes taking place at the same time: people are organizing and they are starting a process of problem-solving (UNICEF, 1982). Considering the efforts involved, participation can also be regarded from the point of view of the participant, as is done by Johnston and Clark (1982). They argue that from the point of view of the participants, that participation must also be regarded as an investment since

> ... effective local organization is expensive to those who choose to participate in it.
>
> (Johnston and Clark, 1982, p. 171)

Poor people will thus contribute their participation if they believe that the benefits would otherwise not be available to them at comparable cost, time and risk. The importance of recognizing intensely felt needs is thus highlighted by Johnston and Clark (1982, se also Sharma, 1979), who draw the parallel to the intensely felt need for independence which made people participate in local organizations. Once independence was reached, these organizations were fractured into smaller groups built around new, less intensely felt needs.

When participation is looked at in terms of the sharing of power, education for this type of participation is somewhat more elaborated on than when participation is looked at in terms of involvement. This is particularly so in contexts where the main goal of participation is to create organizations that are run and controlled by the people themselves. As was hinted at above, people organized themselves in the struggle for national independence. In an analysis of popular theatre, Kidd (1984) finds that popular theatre held the functions of political education and conscientization in the struggle for national independence; it built up morale, created unity and inspired mass action. However, the struggle for independence can also be related to the effects of missionary and colonial education. Abernethy (1969) states:

> … the most significant consequence of colonial education was an unforeseen one: the demise of colonial rule.
>
> (Abernethy, 1969, p. 16)

Whether the struggle for independence was unforeseen or not (compare Ipaye, 1969), education did have revolutionary effects in colonized countries.

Kidd (1984) further identifies three phases representing increasing degrees of bottom-up participation from early community development efforts in the 1950s through conscientization or popular education to later active political confrontations. Different terms are thus used to describe education for participation which is initiated from the bottom up. The meaning of the different terms is not unequivocal, except that they mostly imply education for the sharing of power in some sense.

The most commonly used term is conscientization. Conscientization usually refers to the educational methods tried out by Freire in Brazil. Jarvis (1986) finds that programs using Freirian methods belong to a development model that he labels "community action". The goal of this model is to make people understand the social, economic and political pressure under which they live and to take action accordingly.

Kidd (1984) states, that even though it was not Freire's intention, his methods preserved top-down purposes since the messages were prepared beforehand (see also LaBelle, 1976). This seems also to be the case when Freire's methods are used in programs not aiming directly at creating people's organizations such as health education programs (see, for example, Aller Atucha and Crone, 1980). Freire's intentions of bottom-up participation have later been made clearer and the methods extended through new methodologies for the use in popular theatre (Kidd, 1984).

Popular education as a term is not new (Abernethy, 1969) but has been given the new specific meaning as an alternative model for social change at the local level (Grossi, 1984). According to Grossi the concept is still not defined, partly due to the fact that popular education emphasizes the process rather than the results (compare LaBelle, 1986). Grossi states that the task of popular education

> … is to contribute to the development of people's consciousness concerning the real causes of the problems that they encounter, in order to increase their capacity to mobilize themselves by participating in organizations and supporting them.
>
> (Grossi, 1984, p. 307)

Oliver (1987) reports from the World Assembly of Adult Education held in Argentina in 1985 that the concept of popular education was extensively discussed. One of the Latin American delegates explained popular education as consisting of two components. One component is "civic education" which involves thinking and discussion for individual understanding. The other component is "political education" which involves practice or action by learning for participation in political life.

A movement similar to popular education, which is called "people's education", has emerged in South Africa (Walters and Kruss, 1988). By referring to Paulo Freire and Antonio Gramsci, Walters and Kruss find that there are certain themes common to both popular education and people's education, for example, the integration of the struggle for political power and people's education which makes political action integral to people's education, the advocation of consciousness-raising amongst oppressed people so that they understand their oppression and the emphasis on critical thinking and theoretical analysis. This accordingly means that also people's education would consist of the two components, civic education and political education.

It may be inferred that when programs of education for participation are launched they are initiated either from the top-down or from the bottom-up and thus serving the interests of either the élite or the masses. This, however, excludes a more recent approach to participation, namely participatory research. Participatory research is mainly a research method but at the same time a tool for training participation (see, for example, Swantz, 1978; Kassam, 1981). As such participatory research is not necessarily initiated from the top-down but at least from outside the community in question. At the same time the participatory research program serves the interests of the community in the sense that it educates for bottom-up participation or, as stated by Kassam (1981; compare Jackson et al., 1981) that the researcher must identify himself with the oppressed.

The conclusions that can be drawn in this part of the chapter is, on the one hand, that even if there are few educational programs for participation in local organizations, these programs belong to the concept of nonformal educations. So does also the relatively larger number of bottom-up initiated programs for participation. Thus, the need of education for participation is so far not altogether recognized, with the exception of activities initiated from the bottom up. All the same, this type of educational activities belong to the concept of nonformal education.

> The overall social and political structure of a country combined with its development goals set the basic framework within which both formal and nonformal education function.
>
> Evans, 1981, p. 58

Chapter 6

A FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYSES OF NONFORMAL EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES

The second outcome of this work is the establishing of a framework for analyses of nonformal educational activities in development. Since this framework is based on what has emerged in the preceding chapters, it is necessary to start this chapter by summarizing some of the important points concerning, on the one hand, the concept of nonformal education and, on the other hand, development as the setting for nonformal education.

6.1 Summary of important points

The concept of nonformal education was discussed on the basis of the generally accepted definition given by Ahmed and Coombs (1975b). In this definition, the concept of nonformal education is looked upon from a delivery perspective and is stated to encompass organized and semi-organized educational activities operating outside the regular routines and structure of the formal system. It was, however, found that this definition yields borderline cases between formal and nonformal education.

When further clarifications of the concept of nonformal education were discussed, additional criteria emerged. In this discussion it was made apparent that two different types of educational variables were utilized to obtain these criteria. The variables were labelled external and internal variables, respectively. It was concluded that due to the fact that the differentiation between formal and nonformal education was made in terms of "organization", internal variables would be valid for both types of education and further characteristics of nonformal education should be derived from external variables.

Finally, two additional points were considered important. One concerned the aspects of sponsorship and control that were found to affect external variables of nonformal education. The other point concerned the one instance where socio-psychological attributes were used as the main objectives of nonformal educational programs together with the usual objectives of knowledge and skills.

The description of development as the setting of nonformal educational activities was made on the basis of what should be the development goals and how should the process of development take place from the point of view of international considerations. It is found that there has been a shift in emphasis from a rather simplistic view in terms of economic growth towards a broadbased approach which, besides involving efforts to increase production, also emphasizes the need of satisfying the basic needs of the poor, rural as well as urban, to increase employment opportunities in both urban and rural areas, as well as efforts of administrative decentralization to encourage self-reliance. It was concluded that the broadbased approach can be described in terms of three program areas of development, namely the production, the consumption and the organization oriented program areas, where the consumption and the organization oriented areas represent the more recently emphasized areas in addition to the desired economic growth. It was also concluded that international considerations of what should be the development goals did not encompass the fostering of social-psychological attributes desired for development.

The considerations of how the development process should take place was based on discussions of the theories of development and social change from the point of view of educationists. It was found that, on the one side, there is one cluster of theories where development will be obtained through gradual changes and through measures taken against deficits by provisions in different areas. On the other side of the watershed, there are two separate clusters of theories. Theories in one cluster regard the process of development from a conflict perspective, which means that development will be obtained through radical changes in the distribution of resources and power. The other cluster of theories is primarily concerned with the causes of underdevelopment which are explained in terms of external and internal dependency. The remedies are outlined as structural reforms which can be obtained either through gradual or radical changes. It was concluded that a variable in terms of gradual or radical changes must be considered as producing two different settings for nonformal educational activities.

Development strategies were further discussed in terms of implementation with national development policies, ideologies and political processes on the local level as intermediary links. It was found that the previously discussed dichotomies of provision for deficits against structural reforms and gradual against radical changes could be described through three approaches, namely the improvement, the transformation and the radical change approaches. The improvement approach represents provision for deficits through gradual changes, the transformation approach represents structural reforms also through gradual changes and the radical change approach represents structural reforms through, precisely, radical changes.

It was also found that national development policies do not necessarily correspond to international considerations of what should be the goals of development and also that the implementation to a large extent is dependent on political processes on the local level. In addition, it was concluded that the previously identified variable of gradual against radical changes requires the extra differentiation of where the initiative to development programs comes from: on top-down or bottom-up initiative.

6.2 Point of departure for the framework

Nonformal education thus encompasses organized and semi-organized activities operating outside the regular routines and structures of the formal system. Since the definition of nonformal education is stated from a delivery perspective, the further selection of nonformal educational activities need to be based on aspects that exert an influence on the delivery of these activities. Such aspects have been identified previously in this work and are articulated through the following two statements which will be discussed presently.

- Nonformal educational activities are mostly part of national development policies and as such only one of several development inputs.
- It is necessary to recognize political boundaries

The first statement argues that education is no longer regarded as the key instrument but that it has rather become regarded as a strong tool that enables and facilitates the use of other development inputs. That is, from the 1970s the view of education as the key instrument in development has been questioned and education as a major component has become diminished in favour of other project inputs. Looked at form the point of view of basic needs, education is not only regarded as a basic need in itself but also as a means through which other basic needs can be fulfilled. Even so, education does not stand alone. In the case of health, for example, where the emphasis is on prevention and education, other inputs concerning safe water, sanitation, nutrition and so on are considered necessary.

This vast number of programs including nonformal educational activities are operated under national development policies, or, if they are sponsored by international aid or private organizations, at least in line with national policies. However, I am not arguing that there generally is national consensus regarding specific development strategies, only that there are overall policies outlining the direction in line with gradual changes or radical changes. Accordingly, the liberty of action on behalf of nonformal types of education is restricted to the purpose of the development program that the nonformal educational activities are designed to serve. The development programs are in line with some development strategy that in turn is adhered to in national development policies.

The second statement simply says that the political reality sets the boundaries within which development programs can work. As a general frame of reference for this discussion, the previously identified development approaches are used:

improvement, transformation and radical change. These have to be further related to top-down or bottom-up initiatives that represent a "have – have not" dichotomy of political support.

Thus, development work has traditionally concerned top-down initiated improvement, which is also inherent in the economic growth model and in human capital theories. Later transformative approaches, that mainly refer to equity problems not solved through improvement approaches, have emerged. Transformative approaches concern the redistribution of resources and power within the existing system through, for example, land settlements schemes and participation in decision-making. These approaches mainly work on top-down initiatives but can also be initiated from the bottom-up. Radical change concerns the restructuring of relationships that does not take place within the system but through revolutionary changes of the system itself. For radical change the top-down initiative is a prerequisite unless it takes the shape of a bottom-up revolution.

In the improvement approaches, the political reality does not present any problem since improvement would not in general touch upon the structures of the social and economic systems. Once questions of development concern restructuring patterns of relationships in terms of resources and power, obstacles present themselves depending on the national or local political environment. Judging from experiences reported in the previous chapters, it is nevertheless evident that political support is necessary but also that it may not be enough.

When activities designed for the redistribution of resources and power are not politically supported, that is, when they are initiated from the bottom-up, they have to be operated on the margins of or right outside the framework of conventional development work and on non-government initiatives. As soon as this kind of restructuring activities are perceived as a threat by those in authority, there will be an intervention in one way or the other. This is also the experience of different programs discussed in the previous chapters. The best known example from the point of view of education is Paulo Freire who was jailed and later exiled when his methods of consciousness raising were perceived as a threat by a new regime.

In the instances when activities designed for the restructuring of relationships do have political support in terms of commitment on behalf of the national government through transformation or radical change, other obstacles may present themselves depending on the political environment at the local level. Those holding the power at the local level may perceive the restructuring attempts as threatening and consequently resist the changes. This is also the experience of attempts at land reform and land settlements schemes as well as in different participatory approaches where participation implies the sharing of power.

The political reality thus sets boundaries that must be taken into account not only in the formulation of development policies but also in discussions of the effects of different policies. It is nevertheless evident that the political environment sets the limits either at national or local level.

Against the background of the reasons given above and in line with arguments concerning development and formal education such as "... educational objectives must be seen in the context of each country's development goals" (Simmons, 1980, p. 21), I thus propose that nonformal educational activities in development should be selected for specific research questions on the basis of a development framework. In other words, even if the concept of nonformal education is regarded as a concept emanating from a delivery perspective of education, it is not a system in the same sense as formal education. Consequently nonformal educational activities will have to be identified in relation to other units relevant to a delivery perspective, in this case, development. Such a development framework need to be based on a differentiation of overall development policies within which different development programs are launched.

In the following two parts of this chapter I will outline a framework through which the vast diversity of nonformal educational activities can be ordered into a relatively simple but meaningful framework for analyses. The first level or step of this framework identifies development goals as stated in objectives of different programs belonging to the program areas of the present broadbased approach of development. The second step consists of classifying development policies in a two-dimensional system with respect to gradual *versus* radical changes and top-down *versus* bottom-up initiative. It must be noted that the steps are independent of each other and that the particular sequence between the two steps presented here is not in any way a necessity.

6.3 The framework: Step 1

The first step is at the program level and involves the identification of development programs in terms of development goals. In other words, since development goals of today are no longer synonymous only to economic growth but also concerns social and political aspects, development programs must further be identified in relation to what the development goals actually are. This step is necessary if further analyses or evaluations of nonformal education are to be made since it will make explicit the purposes of a specific program in the development context. The purpose of a program consequently sets the limits within which nonformal educational activities can operate. In the instances where nonformal educational activities are not part of a development program but operated separately as development activities by themselves, the purpose is expressed by the educational objectives, which also can be related to development goals.

Development policies may encompass development goals that are production, consumption or organization oriented, thus covering the development goals that are emphasized in the present broadbased approach.

The production oriented area encompasses development programs where the emphasis is placed on economic aspects of development. This program area hence represents programs which aim at economic improvement in terms of increasing production, whether agricultural or industrial, and in terms of increasing employment opportunities, whether salaried or self-employed, in the primary, secondary or tertiary sector. Accordingly, the nonformal educational activities found in the production oriented area consist of different types of vocational education as well as education for the improvement of skills and knowledge of those already employed.

The consumption oriented area encompasses development programs where the emphasis is placed on the direct improvement of living conditions, which to a large part of the world is a matter of survival. This program area thus encompasses programs concerned with food, family planning, sanitation, housing, health and so on. In this program area nonformal educational activities may be regarded as supplying a basic need for example, the knowledge to read and write through literacy programs, or as a means to obtain the objectives of other consumption oriented programs.

The program area of organization concerns institutional structures and managerial procedures for the organizing of people for policy redesign and implementation. The important aspects in this program area when it concerns nonformal educational activities are derived from discussions concerning participation. As was argued in the previous chapter, education in this program area is mainly a question of education for participation. It must be remembered though, that even if participation cannot be taught in non-participatory ways, participation *in* education is not necessarily education *for* participation. However, it is also important to differentiate between organization oriented programs that aim for participation in democratic processes on different levels and those that aim for collective organization and action. That is, there is a need to differentiate between nonformal education for the sharing of power and nonformal education for involvement since these two types represent different development goals.

It is particularly in the organization oriented program area that the aspect of sponsorship and control becomes important. That is, as soon as participation is conceived of in terms of the sharing of power, the success in implementation of such programs will depend on who is in control. There is always the possibility that those in control, most likely those already in power, will implement such a program so that the effect instead can be described in terms of involvement.

In the production and the consumption oriented program areas it is less likely that the aspect of control will have any bearing on the development goals. That is, regardless of who is in control, there will be a general consensus about the development goals, for example, improvement of living conditions. Conflicts will appear and the aspect of who is in control will become important as soon as there is the question of how these development goals should be obtained, through improvements, transformations or radical changes.

However, one additional program area needs to be recognized, namely a program area where programs are personality oriented. The need for such an area became apparent in the analysis of nonformal education where it was found that there are programs concerned with the fostering of social-psychological attributes such as civic consciousness, loyalty, honesty, a sense of discipline etc. Even though this program area cannot be derived from international considerations concerning development, it still represents important aspects of development from national points of view. It can of course be argued that there is hardly any development program solely concerned with the fostering of social-psychological attributes so that a personality oriented program area is unnecessary. It may be true that there are few programs solely concerned with fostering such attitudes, but there are definitely programs where the main emphasis is on fostering such attitudes because of their importance in relation to development. Lest such programs should be overlooked, there is a need to recognize a personality oriented program area.

Thus, the prevalent development approaches can be described in terms of the program areas that are production, consumption, organization or personality oriented. The organization oriented program area need the additional differentiation between participation as involvement and participation as the sharing of power. Nonformal educational activities serve in either of these four program areas, and the purposes of different nonformal educational activities are stated accordingly. (See Figure 8)

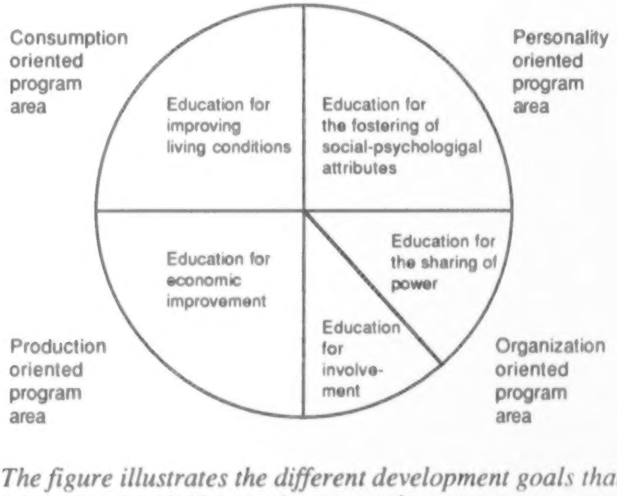

Consumption oriented program area
Personality oriented program area
Education for improving living conditions
Education for the fostering of social-psychologigal attributes
Education for economic improvement
Education for the sharing of power
Education for involvement
Production oriented program area
Organization oriented program area

Figure 8. The figure illustrates the different development goals that nonformal educational activities can be expected to serve.

There are, of course, comprehensive development programs serving all four program areas but this does not mean that they serve all program areas simultaneously. By necessity, for the feasibility of implementation, comprehensive programs are divided into sub-programs and these sub-programs may serve different program areas.

A further differentiation between the four program areas can be made through the aspects of focus and required assets, which is illustrated in Figure 9.

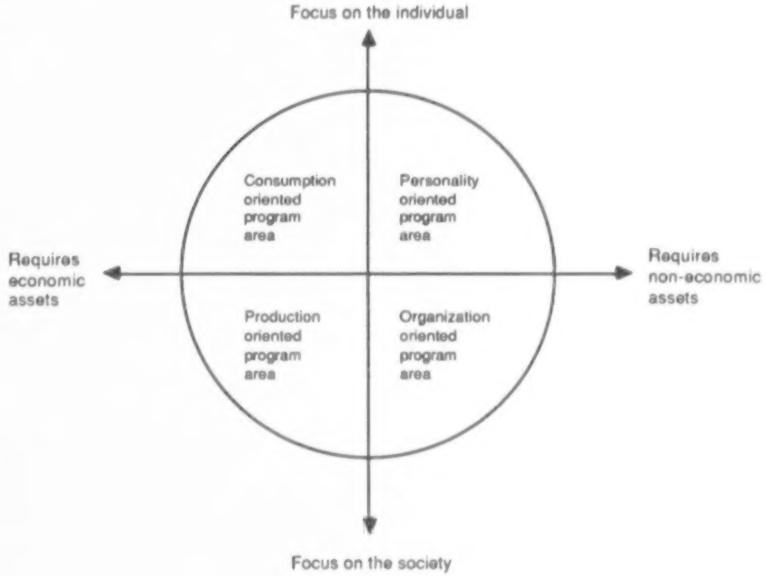

Focus on the individual
Consumption oriented program area
Personality oriented program area
Requires economic assets
Requires non-economic assets
Production oriented program area
Organization oriented program area
Focus on the society

Figure 9. The four program areas related to the aspects of focus and required assets.

The aspect of focus differentiates between where the main focus is placed, on the individual or on the society. In the consumption and the personality oriented program areas, the focus is on changes where the direct beneficiary is the individual. In the production and the organization oriented program areas, the focus is on societal changes and the individual is an indirect beneficiary.

The aspect of required assets differentiates between whether the primary asset required is economic or non-economic. Programs in the consumption and the production oriented areas primarily require economic assets in order to obtain their goals. Programs in the personality and the organization oriented program areas primarily require non-economic assets in terms of social/cultural and political support.

When the different program areas are identified, it becomes evident that it is not reasonable to expect the same type of outcome from educational activities designed to serve, for example, production oriented programs as from those designed to serve consumption or participation oriented programs.

Some nonformal educational activities may not always be clear-cut cases, however. Literacy programs, for example, may be designed to serve not only in the consumption oriented program area but also in the organization oriented program area. A literacy program may have the primary purpose of reading and writing and another literacy program may have the primary purpose of consciousness raising. In the latter case, reading and writing are used both as consciousness raising means as well as educational means. As a consequence of the different purposes, the expected outcomes of these two types of literacy programs will differ. Yet, it may not always be possible to identify the primary purpose as belonging to either program area. In such cases recognition should be given to both types of expected outcomes until the primary purposes are further clarified, if possible.

6.4 The framework: Step 2

The second step of the framework concerns the identification of the boundaries set by the environment in respect of different aims of development. To this end, development activities must be identified from an overall, nationally related perspective. In this perspective, two important aspects are easily discerned. One aspect concerns the initiator of the development activities. Development activities are generally discussed in terms of initiation from the top-down or from the bottom-up. This yields a perspective that is fairly narrow but yet implies other underlying dimensions than only the origin of the initiative. It is more feasible to describe the initiative aspect as a difference between government and non-government initiatives. This differentiation yields not only the possibilities of identifying top-down and bottom-up initiatives but permits also more readily the option of international initiatives. Non-government initiative can thus be a question of local as well as of international initiative.

The second aspect concerns the relationship between development activities and the existing system within the frame set by development policies. These policies express views, explicitly stated or implicitly held, regarding how the development changes should take place. On the one hand, there are development policies implying that development should be gradual and take place within the existing system. These policies mean in reality development activities that will provide for deficits, but also the restructuring of relationships within the existing system. On the other hand, there are development policies based on the assumption that it is not possible to obtain development through changes within the existing system. These policies stress revolutionary oriented development activities that aim at radical changes in the redistribution of power and resources.

When these two aspects, that is, the initiators of the development activities and the relationship between the activities and the existing system, are related to each other, they will allow a two-way classification of the activities and facilitate the identification of development programs and accordingly nonformal educational activities. The two-dimensional system is represented in the figure below where the following four clusters of development activities can be identified:

A. nationally initiated gradual changes,
B. non-nationally initiated gradual changes,
C. locally initiated radical changes, and
D. nationally initiated radical changes.

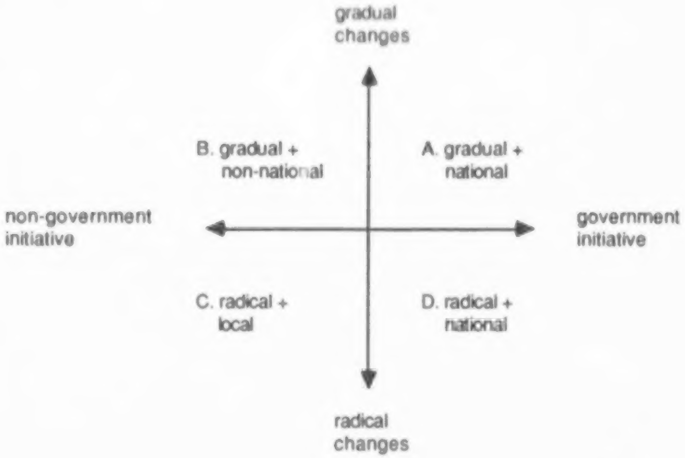

gradual changes
B. gradual + non-national
A. gradual + national
non-government initiative
government initiative
C. radical + local
D. radical + national
radical changes

Figure 10. A two-dimensional system for the classification of development policies

Cluster A represents development activities where the initiative comes from the government and the aims of the activities are set in national development policies requiring gradual changes within the existing system. Accordingly, specific development programs and thus nonformal types of education will be designed primarily to serve the type of development goals previously described in the internationally considered broadbased approach to development. In other words, the development programs found in this area will involve efforts to increase production, do reduce poverty and to increase employment opportunities as well as attempts of restructuring relationships within the existing system.

Cluster B represents the same type of gradual changes within the system, but the development activities are initiated by non-government agencies. These agencies may be local organizations such as different religious organizations, charity organizations, other forms of bottom up initiatives and so on, but the initiative may also emanate from the outside through, for example, international aid organizations. The types of development programs, and accordingly nonformal types of education, found in this cluster will be designed in line with national development policies but with specific emphasis dependent on which type of organization initiates the program.

In the clusters C and D, the development policies no longer regard development activities as a matter of gradual changes within the existing system but as a matter of revolutionary oriented changes that aim directly at the redistribution of resources and power. In cluster C, these radical changes are initiated through various forms of bottom up actions and are hence a question of local initiatives. It should be noted, however, that the word "local" is used instead of the previous "non-national". I have thus chosen to exclude the possibility of radical changes being initiated from the outside since, as far as I know, no outside government or international agency has so far admitted their part in initiating this kind of revolutionary activities. However, as was stated before, once these activities are perceived as a threat by those in power, there will be an intervention. The result of the intervention is either that the activities will cease or that there will be an open confrontation. The nonformal educational activities found in this cluster will directly aim at critical analysis, collective organizing and action.

Cluster D represents radical changes where the redistribution of resources and power is nationally initiated. These activities are found in the relatively few revolutionary or socialist societies. Consequently the nonformal educational activities will primarily be designed to serve in the promotion of the current ideology but also for other improvement aims in line with the ideology.

Throughout the developing world, clusters A and B, representing development activities based on gradual changes, are the most numerous. Consequently, these are also the clusters where the largest number of nonformal educational activities can be found. Development activities and thus nonformal educational activities serving in the setting of radical change, clusters C and D, are by number relatively fewer compared to the first two clusters.

When these four clusters are recognized and identified, they will outline the boundaries within which development activities can be expected to operate. Accordingly, nonformal types of education as development activities can only be expected to serve within these boundaries. I find it essential that studies of nonformal educational activities, particularly in terms of evaluations, should recognize the development setting as represented by the four clusters in order to facilitate the aquisition of relevant knowledge of role of nonformal educational activities in the development process.

6.5 Application of the framework

When the different program areas, identified in step 1, are related to the four clusters, identified in step 2, the boundaries are set for the liberty of action on behalf of any development program and therefore also for the liberty of action on behalf of nonformal educational activities. This liberty of action sets the limits within which nonformal types of education can reasonably be expected to operate. Once these limits are recognized it will, on the one hand, be possible to identify nonformal educational activities for particular research purposes, and, on the other hand, the planning of appropriate nonformal educational activities will be facilitated. It should also be noted that once the boundaries are recognized, it is also possible to explore the likelihood and plausibility of advancing beyond existing program purposes.

When undertaking a study of nonformal educational activities in development the researcher has to, or at least ought to, make a stipulation as to which activities should be the objects of investigation. At present, while there are no theories that provide clear criteria for the application of the concept of nonformal education, it is nevertheless important that the selection of educational activities and stipulative definitions of nonformal education are not made arbitrarily.

The choice of nonformal education, relative a specific research question, should be made through the identification of the program area within which nonformal education is serving. The different program areas serve different development purposes. Accordingly, educational activities should be selected from the program area that is appropriate for the specific analysis aimed at. For example, if a research question concerns the social mobility function of nonformal educational activities, the activities should be selected from the program areas where these activities can reasonably be expected to hold this type of function. Activities can thus be chosen from either the production oriented or the organization oriented program area depending on the precise research question.

Thus, it is not reasonable to expect educational activities in the consumption oriented program area to hold social mobility functions even if other inputs in the area may do so: the shift from a shed of corrugated iron to a proper house may imply another social status. Anyhow, programs aiming at the elimination of mosquito breeding places or the use of boiled water cannot seriously be expected to hold social mobility functions. Thus, the first step in the framework indicates what kind of analysis is relevant for which type of nonformal education since nonformal educational activities are designed for separate purposes depending on which of the four program areas they serve.

Furthermore, studies based on, for example, a theory of development that considers that development should take place through radical change will, if educational activities are selected arbitrarily, find that most of these activities do not in fact obtain the desired type of change - unless the studied activities belong to a setting where the development activities aim at radical changes, whether nationally initiated or not, that is, from clusters C and D.

Two examples will further illustrate the necessity of not choosing nonformal educational activities arbitrarily. The first example shows that without first differentiating between development settings in terms of the four clusters and the four program areas, analyses of nonformal education accordingly may end up stating truisms. The second example shows that the understanding of implementation of nonformal education can be advanced once an attempt is made to identify political boundaries and the purposes of educational activities.

The first example is the analysis of nonformal education and national development undertaken by Bock and Papagiannis (1983a, 1983b), who argue that nonformal education should be investigated in its "sociopoliticoeconomic context" (1983a, p. 6). Even though Bock and Papagiannis recognize the diversity of educational activities represented by the concept of nonformal education, they are not explicit as to which criteria have been used in their selection of cases. In addition, they use the term nonformal education without further specification. Their research question concerns the mobility, selection and recruitment function and exchange value of nonformal education. In other words, their study concerns educational aspects often used in analyses of formal education.

Even though the analysis is made in relation to national development, Bock and Papagiannis fail initially to recognize the development setting that will make their analysis meaningful. They accordingly end up with the following truism:

> It is our contention that, to a very great extent, nonformal education has not fulfilled its early promise because, like schooling, nonformal intervention strategies have been grounded on incorrect assumptions about the role of education in the development process. In reality, nonformal education programs are usually co-opted by the state and employed as instruments of regime legitimation and for the extension of state authority.
> (Bock and Papagiannis, 1983b, p. 339)

Before further elaborations on the reasons for this being a truism, let me comment on the mentioned "early promise". This early promise can probably be ascribed to the early "expectations" that surrounded nonformal types of education due to their flexibility when education was still seen as a key instrument. However, these expectations only pointed out the possible purposes for which nonformal types of education could be used and not the purposes for which they were actually used. For which purpose nonformal types of education actually are used is the decision of the initiator and user, which is evident from the framework outlined above.

Returning to the truism, this occurs primarily depending on the selected cases used by Bock and Papagiannis as point of departure for their analysis. When the framework above is related to the selected cases it becomes obvious from the second step that all cases but one represent development policies aiming at gradual changes within the existing system, nationally or non-nationally initiated, that is, the cases belong to clusters A and B. The only exception represents locally initiated changes, that is, one case belongs to cluster C. Since the studied educational activities are designed to serve national development policies or at least designed in line with them, the outcome of the analysis, in terms of the statement cited above, could therefore have been made beforehand.

It is important to remember, however, that in either case when nonformal educational activities are initiated by the government, that is, belonging not only to cluster A but also to cluster D, the programs will by necessity be "co-opted by the state and employed as instruments of regime legitimation and for the extension of state authority". Without this recognition, nonformal educational activities run the risk of being judged according to ideological criteria that are not articulated. However, had the analysis been undertaken solely on cases belonging to cluster C, that is, locally initiated activities involving radical changes, this latter part of the statement would indeed have been interesting and had merited further clarifications.

In the name of fairness I also have to cite the final doubts that Bock and Papagiannis have. On the last page they finally arrive at the question they should have asked from the start:

> And indeed why should the conservative-cum-liberal governments, which characterize most of the developing countries, be expected to cooperate in nurturance of a process that has as one of its major goals the redistribution of power away from the center toward the formerly low-power periphery?
> (Bock and Papagiannis, 1983b, p. 344)

As is evident from the second step in the framework, the answer is quite simple: if radical changes are the type of changes sought after they must also be searched for in a development setting that allows this type of changes.

The second example is the analysis of nonformal education in Latin America and the Caribbean carried out by LaBelle (1986). LaBelle's study concerns the relationship between what nonformal education is intended to accomplish and what is known about its implementation, which he calls the rhetoric-reality relationship. LaBelle starts his analysis by defining what will be meant by nonformal education through the application of a decision rule, that is, organized, systematic educational activities outside the framework of the formal system excluding those programs that provide alternative means to deliver schooling.

As a framework for his analysis, LaBelle departs from two intersecting axes where one represents a continuum of change and the other a continuum of educational strategy. The end points of the change continuum are labelled "equilibrium" and "conflict", respectively and should be understood as either adaptation to existing conditions or confrontation among competing interests. The end points of the strategy continuum are labelled "process" and "prescriptive", respectively. These should be understood as different strategies with regard to the emphasis of the educational process being either on participation or on transmission and reception.

Within this framework LaBelle places nonformal education in terms of three types of interventions: the human capital approach, popular education and revolutionary guerilla warfare. The human capital approach is basically adaptation (equilibrium) oriented and uses both participation and transmission/reception strategies. Popular education is both adaptive and confrontational (conflict) oriented and emphasizes a participation strategy. Revolutionary guerilla warfare is basically conflict oriented and uses both participation and transmission/reception strategies.

The important result of LaBelle's study is that there is a gap between intention and what is known about implementation. The rhetoric signals greater participation, democratic decision making and bottom-up mobilization than the reality allows. LaBelle explains the gap primarily in terms of who is in control, that is, either the beneficiaries of the program, the so-called insiders, or those who teach, plan, facilitate or sponsor the program and come from outside the community, the so-called outsiders.

Even if the results of LaBelle's study is generally in line with the main arguments of this study, it seems as if LaBelle puts greater expectations on certain programs than would be realistic had the framework arrived at in the present study been used as a point of departure. For example, the human capital approach is described as adaptation oriented. As such it represents gradual changes within the existing system, regardless of whether these are nationally or non-nationally initiated, that is clusters A and B. The intention of human capital programs is stated by LaBelle in terms of goals aiming at knowledge, skills, the encouragement of self-help, the fostering of citizenship, the increase in income and health status etc. In terms of the framework above, these intentions can be described as belonging mainly to the production and consumption oriented program areas and partly to the personality oriented area.

LaBelle finds that in implementation there is an adaptation of individuals to economic inequalities and to existing power relationships. Now, this is only what could be expected had the programs been identified in terms of the production, consumption and personality oriented program areas within the framework of gradual changes. That is, even if the restructuring of relationships is possible when gradual changes are aimed at, the characterization of the human capital approach as adaptation oriented emphasizes improvement rather than transformations but does definitely not suggest radical changes. Nonformal educational activities serving in a development approach in terms of improvement would preserve economic inequalities and existing power relationships.

In sum, the framework presented in this study specifies the development setting within which nonformal education can be expected to operate. Since the main purpose of this framework is to facilitate researchers' choices of nonformal educational activities, the framework should be regarded as a prerequisite for the identification of nonformal educational activities relative a particular research purpose.

However, it is desirable that the framework should be utilized also by practitioners, on the one hand, when planning nonformal types of educational activities in order to understand the correspondence between intention and implementation and, on the other hand, when evaluating the outcome of such activities in order to identify and understand gaps between intention and outcome.

For either the researchers or the practitioners, one step involves identifying development purposes as stated by program areas. The other step involves identifying types of development policies and origin of initiatives. Once the results of these two steps are related to each other, then the scene is set for further analyses and actions.

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